Daily Report

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Changes in Albanian Leadership 'Imminent'

LD0407115290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—TANJUG has learned today that key changes will be urgently carried out in the Albanian political leadership and especially in the internal affairs [ministry] and the national security service (Sigurimi).

Well-informed sources, who asked to remain anonymous, told TANJUG that in connection with this a plenum of the Central Committee of the ruling Albanian Workers' Party will be held either today or tomorrow to discuss personnel changes in the leadership. The reason for this is the latest wave of people seeking refuge in foreign embassies in Tirana. Several hundred Albanian citizens have risked their lives over the last three days to gain entry into foreign missions in Tirana trying to emigrate despite the authorities' claims that everyone can obtain a passport and leave the country legally.

Recently there has been public criticism in Albania of the powerful security services Sigurimi which controls all aspects of life [passage indistinct]

Official Denies 'Coup Attempt'

LD0407101990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0939 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—An official spokesman of the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade today denied reports that a "charge" by several hundred Tirana citizens into foreign diplomatic missions in the city on Monday, 2 July, resulted from an unsuccesful coup attempt in the country. There was no evidence of either a coup attempt or any demonstrations in Tirana, the official told TANJUG.

The diplomat restated ATA's announcement that 300-400 "hooligans" and former convicts had tried to enter foreign embassies on Monday evening.

"There were no demonstrations," he said, but could not say why citizens have been trying to find asylum in foreign diplomatic missions even though Albanians were recently allowed for the first time to have passports and to leave the country. He said that since the new regulations on passports came into force tens of thousands of Albanians have been given passports. However, he was not able to say how many have, in fact, been allowed to leave the country. [passage omitted]

The spokesman at the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade said that there were neither policial dissidents nor intellectuals among the people seeking shelter in foreign embassies in Tirana. "They are former convicts who took children aged 13, 14, and 15 with them," he said.

According to him, they had not been refused passports. The embassy spokesman was unable either to confirm or deny the reports that talks are under way in Tirana between the Albanian authorities and the representatives of foreign diplomatic missions concerning the departure of a total of 214 "asylum seekers" who have been staying in the embassies since Monday evening.

According to the spokesman of the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade, there is calm in Tirana and there are no longer any disturbances.

Albania Pledges No Action Against Refugees

AU0407095890 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0935 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Tirana/Brussels—International efforts to find a solution for the Albanians who have sought refuge in several embassies in Tirana continue. [passage omitted]

In a statement to the foreign missions today, the Albanian Foreign Ministry recalls a decree in which every Albanian citizen over the age of 16 is entitled to a passport and to free entry and exit provided he has the necessary visas. Assurance is given that no steps will be taken against those who have taken refuge in the embassies.

According to the latest reports, a total of about 400 Albanians have requested political asylum in several embassies, most of them in the FRG Embassy. [passage omitted]

Refugees Allowed to Leave

LD0507143290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1102 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Rome, July 5 (TANJUG)—The Rome REPUBLICA writes that the government in Tirana has decided to allow all Albanian citizens who have taken refuge in foreign diplomatic missions in Tirana to leave the country.

The daily quotes an anonymous "Albanian diplomatic source."

The daily claims to have "direct confirmation" of indications that a plenary session of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee will be held in Tirana today, which is expected to permit the Albanian Foreign Ministry to start negotiations regarding the departure of the refugees from the country.

The possibility of a conflict between the reformists and those who oppose any changes in the regime at the plenum has not been ruled out.

It is claimed that "the party has now consolidated its ranks and no-one will dispute the decision to continue on the path of reforms."

The latest rush of refugees to foreign embassies in Tirana has been assessed in Rome as being the result of the very fact that the announced reforms and democratization in the area of basic human liberties and rights are progressing too slowly.

Rome has meanwhile confirmed that Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michellis has asked the United Nations to appeal to the Albanian Government to put a stop to the "presistent violations of the immunity and privileges of foreign dipomatic representatves. [no closding quotes as received]

Envoys in Tirana Discuss 'Asylum Seekers'

LD0407112290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1036 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—It has been confirmed by TANJUG that foreign embassies in Tirana which had been hosting Albanian "asylum seekers" since Monday have been negotiating separately with Albanian authorities to resolve this problem.

A meeting of foreign ambassadors accredited to Albania was held in the residence of the Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana, Novak Pribicevic, who is the doyen of the diplomatic corps, to reach an agreement on the "asylum seekers" crisis. TANJUG was told this in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs in Belgrade.

Information was exchanged during the meeting on the situation concerning the "asylum seekers" crisis. As is known, since foreign embassies in Tirana were "stormed" by citizens, 214 Albanians wanting to go abroad have been staying in diplomatic missions since Monday.

Some embassies, for instance the Greek and Czechoslovak Embassies, are already evacuating families of embassy employees, while others, for instance the West German embassy, are arranging for an airlift of food and basic necessities for the refugees, and possibly for diplomatic personnel needs as well.

SFRY Discusses Refugees' Fate

LD0507155490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, July 5 (TANJUG)—As doyen of the diplomatic corps, Yugoslav Ambassador to Albania Novak Pribicevic last night had a lengthy talk with the Albanian Foreign Minister Director Bashki Dino on the fate of about 220 albanians who have recently found refuge in foreign missions in Tirana.

During the talk, Pribicevic indicated the necessity for urgent talks between Albanian authorities and representatives of those embassies in Tirana where Albanian citizens have sought asylum, TANJUG learns from the Belgrade foreign secretariat.

Ambassador Pribicevic also appealed that necessary help be provided for wounded and sick asylum-seekers.

The Yugoslav ambassador asked to be received in the Albanian Foreign Ministry after the heads of all diplomatic missions in Tirana met in the residence of Novak Pribicevic on Wednesday evening to discuss the crisis of asylum-seekers.

Foreign Ministry Retracts Visa Regulations

AU0507162590 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1752 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Following the mass gatherings in front of the international embassies in Tirana, the Albanian Foreign Ministry has retracted the regulation allowing people possessing a passport and exit visa to directly apply for entry visas at the foreign missions.

This measure has apparently become necessary because the new regulation, which came into force only on Tuesday, has led to an alarming situation around and inside the embassies. Another 40 persons took advantage of the crowds assembled in front of the embassies to force their way into the FRG, CSFR, and French Embassies.

Meanwhile, the number of embassy refugees has gone up to at least 270. Eye- witnesses in front of the FRG Embassy have reported that a man was brutally beaten up and dragged away by the police.

According to information provided by observers, Tirana is expecting the situation in the embassies to continue to deteriorate. There could even be rioting, it was stated.

Silent marches are expected to be held in the center of the embassy neighborhood tonight.

114 Albanians Take Refuge in French Embassy

AU0507155490 Paris AFP in English 1545 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, July 5 (AFP)—Nearly 100 more Albanians on Thursday took refuge in the French embassy in Tirana, joining 14 others who were already inside the building, French diplomatic sources said.

Several other embassies, including the West German and the Czechoslovak, also took in more Albanian refugees, the sources said.

Passports May be Granted to Asylum Seekers

LD0307173390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The Albanian Foreign Ministry seems to be willing to grant passports, expeditiously, to the four men who asked for asylum in our country's Embassy in Tirana. At least this is the information of the Hungarian Telegraph Agency [MTI]. They climbed over the wall of the diplomatic mission on Sunday night, and although they said they wanted political asylum, through their words, it seemed that they were searching for the chance of a better livelihood.

According to a statement by the Albanian news agency, 300 to 400 people have fled in the past two days to foreign missions in Tirana. The terse communique says

it is a matter of the actions of hooligans. For the moment, there is information that 84 Albanians have asked for help in leaving the country at the FRG embassy, 20 at the Italian, and five at the Greek. According to MTI's information, the diplomatic missions concerned have received a memorandum from the Albanian Foreign Ministry, requesting that the refugees be given passports.

13,000 Passports To Be Issued This Week

AU0407113790 Paris AFP in English 1128 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Paris, July 4 (AFP)—The Albanian Government is prepared to issue 15,000 passports and visas to people wanting to emigrate, reliable sources said here Wednesday. Some 13,000 passports could be issued before the end of the week, the sources said.

The move is aimed at defusing the crisis sparked by the arrival of some 200 Albanians in foreign embassies in Tirana. The refugees have asked for political asylum and want to leave the country.

Hundreds Line Up in Front of Western Embassies

AU0507143390 Paris AFP in English 1417 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Vienna, July 5 (AFP)—Hundreds of Albanians with passports and exit visas lined up Thursday in front of Western embassies in Tirana, as negotiations continued over the fate of the approximately 200 refugees who have taken asylum within the compounds, the Austrian news agency APA reported.

The Western embassies were caught unprepared for the sudden flux of visa applicants, according to the APA correspondent, who is the only Western journalist in Tirana.

The would-be emigres, surveyed by plainclothes agents carrying rubber clubs, were mostly elderly persons.

According to refugees within the compounds, it is almost impossible for young people to obtain exit visas.

"We don't get any passport. It's dangerous just to ask for one," one refugee told APA.

Meanwhile, negotiations over the fate of the refugees remained stalled, according to French Foreign Ministry spokesman Daniel Bernard, who spoke to the press Thursday in Paris.

"Discussions are continuing," he said, "but there has been no notable development."

Mr. Bernard told reporters that the latest information from Tirana indicated that the police presence around the embassies had been reduced.

Also on Thursday, the European Economic Community appealed to Albania to allow the refugees to leave the country, and called on authorities in Tirana not to harm people who fled to foreign embassies.

The message was drafted at West Germany's request and was presented to the Albanian Foreign Ministry by the ambassador of Italy, which currently occupies the EEC presidency, according to West German Foreign Ministry deputy spokesman Hans Schumacher.

The West German Embassy is sheltering the highest number of refugees, with 86, according to sources in Bonn.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said Thursday in an interview on West German radio that Bonn was "preparing to ensure a supply system which will allow an extended stay in our embassy" for the refugees.

However, Albania refused to allow an airplane chartered by West Germany to land on its territory, a decision which Mr. Genscher described as "unacceptable." [passage omitted]

Security Forces Seen 'Carrying off Dead Bodies'

AU0407115090 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] People may have been killed during the mass escape of Albanians to foreign embassies in the capital of Tirana. A spokesman of the Foreign Office in Bonn stated today that diplomats observed security forces carrying off dead bodies. A charter plane carrying relief supplies and personnel will fly to the Albanian capital this afternoon, the spokesman pointed out. The Albanian authorities did not grant Bundeswehr aircraft permission to land.

Tirana Radio Condemns 'Hooligan' Acts

AU0307204090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Activity of some hooligans in Tirana: Yesterday evening, 2 July, at about 2200 [2100 GMT], a group of vagabonds and former prisoners convicted for minor and commonplace offenses such as theft and (?riotous behavior), including some deceived adolescents, sought to enter a foreign embassy by force, throwing bricks, tiles and other objects at the protectors of the peace. Some members of their families also supported the crowd of about 300-400, which created an alarming situation, blocking the traffic and the movement of citizens, throwing stones at the officials of our people appointed to keep order, breaking the windows of some shops, and making noise.

These acts violating public order disgusted all the working people of the capital city, sought to create disturbance in people's quiet lives, and to strike against the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm which has been

created by the decisions of the 10th party Central Committee plenum and the laws recently approved by the People's Assembly.

In particular, they sought to harm the good relations existing with friendly states represented in Tirana and to distort Albania's image in the world.

At the immediate intervention of the forces of public of order and working people of the capital, the disturbers of public peace and order were dispersed. There were light injuries to persons on both sides, and a number of them were kept in the Health Center, where they received the necessary treatment.

Working People 'Disgusted'

AU0307191790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] We continue with a television commentary. The events caused yesterday evening by some vagabond elements and some of their families rightly disturbed and disgusted all the citizens of Tirana and other honest people who heard of them.

These events have become even more disgusting now, because our entire society is enthusiastically working and struggling to incorporate the important decisions of the ninth and 10th party Central Committee plenums and the measures taken in their spirit at the most recent session of the People's Assembly.

Their aim was clear. Through these acts, the aim was to destroy the joyful atmosphere of life which has become even more lively because of the inexorable process of the country's democratization and to put a spoke in the wheel of this whole process, which enjoys the support of the entire people.

Such harmful behavior and acts seek to sabotage the law which states that on the basis of the decree approved by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, our people may travel abroad freely with passports to visit their relatives or for different needs. At the same time, such acts harm the interests of our honest citizens, who welcomed this law with special satisfaction.

They also have a further aim, to sully the increasing reputation and respect enjoyed by our homeland in international circles and to harm the friendly relations with other states and peoples which are becoming ever stronger.

For these reasons, these acts also aroused the legitimate rage of all our healthy public opinion. They disgust every honest citizen in our country. For these people's deplorable acts and attitudes, their families must first of all feel responsible, just as the collectives where they work, mass organizations in workplaces, and Democratic Front organizations in city districts must bear responsibility and show their concern, while the organs of the state must correctly enforce the laws as established.

Our working people throughout the country, committed to their work, who have undertaken the accomplishment of major tasks, as always on the road on which we march, will not allow anybody to intentionally or unintentionally divert them from the road they have themselves chosen. Our people do not stand still when the interests of the homeland are affected, when their power is affected, and when their pure, free, and sovereign life is encroached upon. In total unity, and with tightened ranks round the party headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, they will always march ahead without fear of anybody.

Albanians Take Refuge in Various Foreign Embassies

AU0307160390 Paris AFP in English 1528 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Bonn, July 3 (AFP)—More than 150 Albanians have taken refuge in several embassies in the Albanian capital Tirana, climbing walls and ramming the gates of at least one mission with a truck, officials here and in other European capitals said Tuesday. Members of the Albanian security forces opened fire on some of the asylum seekers and at least one refugee was wounded, West German officials said.

The official Albanian news agency ATA said Tuesday in a report monitored in Belgrade that 300 to 400 "hooligans" had attempted to enter a foreign embassy in Tirana Monday night. The "criminals" and "some enlisted youths" had been helped by their families, who attacked security forces with stones, and had created an "alarming situation," it said. ATA said there had been some injuries among the "hooligans" and members of the police who tried to restore order. Traffic was brought to a standstill and the windows of several shops had been broken, the news agency added. [passage omitted]

In Rome, a foreign ministry source said that about 20 Albanians had taken refuge in the Italian Embassy in Tirana and that more than 100 others were in the embassies of West Germany, France and other countries. The source, who declined to be named, said that "the situation is changing by the hour." He said that six Albanians took refuge in the embassy on Monday after ramming the railings with a lorry. On several occasions the Albanian police had tried to "take back" the refugees by going after them even within the boundaries of the embassy, the Italian Foreign Ministry source said.

The same action was believed to have occurred at the embassies of several countries, including Poland, France and Turkey, the source said.

The sudden surge of refugees was a consequence of unrest and demonstrations in Albania, particularly against a new law on passports which was held to be discriminatory, informed sources said in the West German capital. [passage omitted]

The West German daily newspaper BILD ZEITUNG reported that the embassy was surrounded by members

of the Albanian militia. Informed sources said that West Germany was determined to obtain free passage for the refugees to the country of their choice. [passage omitted]

In Athens, informed sources said that a young person, believed to be a boy, had taken refuge in the Greek Embassy Monday night, taking the total number of refugees in the premises to five. The other four have been there several weeks. [passage omitted]

Flown Out From Turkish Embassy

AU0307165190 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1600 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Via our news agency teleprinter, we have just received the latest report about the situation in Tirana. According to that report, four Albanians, who had entered the Turkish Embassy in the past few days, were given the opportunity to fly out from Albania. AUSTRIAN PRESS AGENCY was informed by a Western diplomat. The diplomat also said that already more than 100 Albanians are in the FRG Embassy and other embassies or countries involved include: Italy, France, Poland, Greece, Turkey, CSFR, Bulgaria, and Egypt.

A representative of the GDR Embassy told AUSTRIAN PRESS AGENCY that the GDR Embassy has not yet been affected by the mass flight, but that it was ready to take care of people seeking refuge.

Diplomats' Families Leave

AU0507091690 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0839 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Tirana—According to latest reports, about 220 Albanian would-be emigrants are staying in 10 foreign embassies in the Albanian capital of Tirana. Earlier reports claimed that there were 400 refugees. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, some diplomats have announced that they are going to send their families home because their safety is no longer ensured. [passage omitted]

Citizens Seek Refuge in FRG Embassy

AU0407213890 Vienna Television Service in German 2040 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Telephone interview with Austrian journalist Wilfried Seywald by Hubert Nowak in Tirana on 4 July "afternoon"—recorded]

[Text] [Nowak] What is the situation like in Tirana at this moment?

[Seywald] The situation is currently very calm, but I would say that the situation is also tense. During the day very little happens. The streets are rather empty. Since there are no private cars the streets appear even emptier than they would be in other cities. Several authorities have confirmed that now there are about twice as many police in the streets as normal. Yet the Albanians are so used to seeing police, secret service people, Sigurimi, and military in the streets—and particularly in Tirana—that this does not really strike them as special, and that they seem to be rather indifferent about it.

[Nowak] According to our information, the foreign embassies in Tirana have been cordoned off by strong security forces and nobody can enter these buildings. Is this true?

[Seywald] It is true. Still, I have just been told by an employee of the FRG Embassy that even today two more people managed to enter the embassy. Thus, it seems that there are still some loopholes, even though the embassies have been completely sealed off.

[Nowak] The refugees that have fled to the embassies are described as hooligans by the government. Will the regime now make any concessions as far as the freedom to travel and other things are concerned.

[Seywald] The freedom to travel exists as a matter of fact and also as a matter of law. I believe that the Albanians will permit these embassy refugees to leave the country immediately, because they want to rid themselves of this problem.

[Nowak] Yet the government will not make any other concessions.

[Seywald] True, no other concessions.

Refugees in Greek, Italian, French Embassies

AU0307114290 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1133 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Tirana— At midday today [as received] 84 people fled into the FRG Embassy amid a hail of bullets from Albanian policemen, the Bonn Foreign Ministry has announced.

The people climbed the wall and one truck crashed through the gate.

The embassies of Greece, France, and Italy have also been overrun by a wave of refugees. There are probably about 60 to 80 people in them. Evidently, these dramatic scenes had been preceded by demonstrations.

The EC wll discuss this issue tomorrow. Albania is the only European country which is not a CSCE member.

Shooting Reported at FRG Embassy

AU0307121690 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1208 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Tirana—Amid a hail of bullets from Albanian policemen, 83 persons have fled into the FRG Embassy in Tirana since last night, the Bonn Foreign Ministry has announced. One of the refugees was injured and is being medically treated in the Embassy. [passage omitted]

Embassies Reaction

AU0307183790 Paris AFP in English 1754 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Tension reigns in Tirana as Albanians take refuge in embassies"—AFP headline]

[Text] Bonn, July 3 (AFP)—Security forces were patrolling the streets of Tirana on Tuesday after several hundred Albanians, including dozens of opponents of the country's holdout communist regime, took refuge in Western embassies, the Austrian news agency APA reported from the Albanian capital.

About 300 to 400 people have attempted to get into the grounds of several foreign embassies, many of them climbing over walls and ramming the gates of at least one mission with a truck, officials here and in other European capitals said.

Members of the Albanian security forces opened fire on some of the asylum seekers, several diplomatic sources said.

According to Italian diplomats, about 30 Albanians were wounded while attempting to enter the West German Embassy, where 83 refugees were holed up as security forces restored order in the streets.

West German officials confirmed that many of the refugees in its compound, including women and children, were wounded. One person was shot in the legs when the first four refugees gained access to the embassy Sunday night. The West German officials added, however, that a solution was in sight as political opponents to the Albanian regime would be allowed to leave the country, which for decades has been closed off to the outside world.

The Greek ambassador in Tirana was quoted in Athens as saying more than 50 gunshots were heard late Monday night.

The Greek Embassy, where five refugees have been accepted, closed its doors after an Albanian military vehicle smashed through the embassy gate in pursuit of Albanians seeking asylum.

At the Turkish and Czechoslovak embassies, women and children were being evacuted Tuesday. Four political opponents of who took refuge in the Turkish Embassy left the country by plane Tuesday, the Austrian news agency reported.

There were 17 refugees in the Czechoslovak Embassy, and Polish officials said 25 Albanians were being sheltered in their diplomatic compound.

But the Chinese Embassy in Tirana said it was handing over several Albanians that had sought refuge in its premises overnight, according to Belgrade radio.

The radio said there was a bilateral accord on such matters between Albania and China.

Journalists said Albanian radio and television had not reported the events in Tirana on Tuesday. But the official Albanian news agency ATA said Tuesday in a report monitored in Belgrade that 300 to 400 "hooligans" had attempted to enter a foreign embassy in Tirana Monday night.

The "criminals" and "some enlisted youths" had been helped by their families, who attacked security forces with stones, and had created an "alarming situation," it said.

ATA said there had been some injuries among the "hooligans" and members of the police who tried to restore order. Traffic was brought to a standstill and the windows of several shops had been broken, the news agency added.

On several occasions the Albanian police had tried to "take back" the refugees by going after them even within the boundaries of the embassy, an Italian Foreign Ministry source said. About 20 refugees were in the Italian embassy in Tirana.

The same Albanian police action was believed to have occurred at the embassies of several countries, including Poland, France and Turkey.

The sudden surge of refugees was a consequence of unrest and demonstrations in Albania, particularly against a new law on passports which was held to be discriminatory, informed sources said in the West German capital.

West Germany planned to this "grave matter" before the European Economic Community (EEC) for a joint response on Wednesday, Mr. Schumacher said.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had formed a crisis committee, and had made a strong protest to the authorities in Tirana.

The West German daily newspaper Bild Zeitung reported that the embassy was surrounded by members of the Albanian militia.

Informed sources said that West Germany was determined to obtain free passage for the refugees to the country of their choice.

Albania was the last bastion of Stalinist-style Communism in East Europe since the collapse of other Communist administrations at the end of 1989.

For 46 years the leadership in Tirana has cut itself and its people from contact and commerce with the rest of Europe, and has only recently shown signs of taking steps to adapt to the new political climate in eastern Europe.

The Albanian ambassador in Bonn, Shpetim Caushi, was summoned twice, on Monday and on Tuesday, to the foreign ministry. West Germany established diplomatic relations with Albania in 1977.

Asylum at Hungarian Embassy

LD0307142890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] According to a statement by the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY [MTI], four Albanian men have entered the Hungarian Embassy in Tirana and requested asylum. They are asking to be allowed to go abroad from there. Our embassy in Tirana has taken up contact with the Albanian authorities in the interests of settling the matter.

300-400 'Hooligans' Seek Refuge

AU0307144390 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, July 3 (AFP)—The Albanian news agency ATA reported Tuesday that 300 to 400 "hooligans" had attempted to enter a foreign embassy in the Albanian capital Tirana on Monday night. It said the "hooligans" had been helped by their families, who attacked security forces with stones.

Traffic was brought to a standstill and the windows of several shops had been broken, ATA said in a report monitored here.

The West German Foreign Ministry in Bonn said earlier that over 150 Albanians had taken refuge in western embassies in Tirana since late Sunday, 83 of them in the West German Embassy.

Seek Refuge in CSFR Embassy

LD0307181490 Prague CTK in English 1722 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 3 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry today informed CTK that according to the latest information from Tirana, 17 Albanians have sought refuge in the Czechoslovak Embassy in the Albanian capital, and over 200 Albanians have asked for political asylum at the embassies of other countries.

Representatives of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry in Tirana and in Prague have opened talks with the Albanian authorities aimed at finding a political and humanitarian solution to the situation aroused which would be in harmony with the fundamental norms of human rights.

The Czechoslovak News Agency today tried in vain to contact by phone the Czechoslovak Embassy in Tirana in order to get more detailed information on the situation in the Albanian capital.

However, no one responded in the Tirana telephone exchange.

Czechoslovaks Depart Tirana

LD0407172190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] A special plane from Tirana with family members of our embassy staff on board arrived in Prague shortly before 1700. Editor Petr Holman reports from the airport:

[Holman] All in all 30 family members of our diplomats have returned to Prague. According to their information, there are 25 refugees in our embassy in Tirana, including one woman. There are no wounded among them, if we discount one bruised elbow.

The family members of our diplomats confirmed that there had been seriously wounded refugees at the FRG Embassy who by now should be treated in a hospital; one has a gunshot wound in the leg and the other a gunshot wound in the lungs.

The information about Monday demonstrations dispersed by police was also confirmed. Family members of the Turkish diplomats already left Tirana and other embassies asked for special planes to take their citizens back home. Although the police no longer bar asylum-seekers entering foreign embassies, police guards in Tirana have been strengthened and it is possible to describe the situation as tense. So much for the information gathered at the Ruzyne Airport in Prague.

Refugees in Bulgarian Embassy

AU0307185490 Sofia BTA in English 1829 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, July 3 (BTA)—As announced by the Bulgarian Embassy at Tirana on Sunday two Albanian youths tried to penetrate on the territory of the Embassy to ask for political asylum. One of them was detained by the Albanian security forces while the other managed to enter the premises. Negotiations are under way with Albanian officials on settling the issue in the spirit of mutual understanding and good relations, the Embassy announces.

Further Reportage

AU0407140090 Paris AFP in English 1340 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Paris, July 4 (AFP)—Albania is prepared to allow up to 15,000 Albanians to emigrate soon, European diplomatic sources here said Wednesday, as negotiations continued over the future of about 200 people who have taken refuge in Western embassies in Tirana. [passage omitted]

In Paris, the diplomatic sources said that within the last few hours the Albanian government had said that it was prepared quickly to provide 15,000 passports and exit visas for Albanians wanting to emigrate, and that 13,000 passports should be distributed by the end of the week. The authorities in Tirana were also believed to be

examining the longer-term possibility of abolishing the requirement for Albanians to obtain exit visas. The measure was intended to halt the flow of refugees who have sought refuge in a dozen foreign embassies since Sunday.

A spokesman for the French Foreign Ministry, Daniel Bernard, said Albanian authorities and the European countries affected were negotiating to settle the future of the refugees, and he thought it likely that those in the French Embassy would soon be able to leave for France. So far the government in Tirana had merely told the embassies that no legal action would be taken against the refugees.

Senior political officials of the European Economic Community were to discuss the problem in Brussels later Wednesday, he said.

The French Embassy was sheltering 15 people and France would send equipment and medicines to improve their living conditions on Thursday, he said.

The Albanian ambassador to Paris had been summoned early Wednesday and told that the situation was "in total contradiction of Albania's undertakings to respect the principles of human rights defined by the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) which Tirana wants to join."

The spokesman said the situation appeared to be stable during the previous 24 hours and that he had no information on reports that some embassies had handed refugees over to Albanian authorities. [passage omitted]

But in Sofia, a senior Bulgarian Foreign Ministry official told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE that the situation in the Bulgarian Embassy where a refugee was in hiding since Sunday, was unchanged. A second Albanian who tried to enter the embassy at the same time as the first, was arrested by Albanian security forces. The Bulgarian official stressed that the second refugee had not been handed over. [passage omitted]

In Paris, the National Union of Albanians, representing a small community of Albanians in France, said that the events in Tirana marked "the beginning of the overthrow of the Stalin dictatorship set up in 1945."

Bulgarian Embassy Conducting Talks

AU0407175790 Sofia BTA in English 1721 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, July 4 (BTA)—The Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that an Albanian citizen, who has asked for political asylum, has been on the premises of the Bulgarian Embassy in Tirana since June 30.

The Bulgarian Ambassador to Tirana has been instructed to voice concern before the Albanian side in connection with the detention and the taking out of another Albanian citizen who entered the courtyard of the Bulgarian Embassy. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 4 July carries a similar report on the situation at the Bulgarian Embassy in Tirana and adds: "The Bulgarian representatives in Tirana are conducting talks with the competent Albanian organs on resolving the case in accordance with the spirit of the modern humanitarian requirements and the defense of human rights, as well as in the spirit of the good relations and understanding between Bulgaria and Albania."]

20 Refugees in Italian Embassy

AU0407114390 Rome ANSA in English 0812 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, July 4—About twenty Albanians have sought refuge in the Italian Embassy in Tirana in the past few days, the Rome Foreign Ministry said Tuesday, and reported that according to information arriving here, more than 150 Albanians had made their way to Western embassies in the capital and asked for asylum.

On Monday, the ministry said, the most recent arrivals at the Italian Embassy gained access by ramming the gate with a truck.

Aid for Refugees in Italian Embassy

AU0507113990 Rome ANSA in English 1053 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] (ANSA) Rome, July 5—A transport plane is being loaded with food, medical and emergency supplies destined for the Albanian dissidents who have taken refuge in the Italian Embassy compound in Tirana, Albania, a Foreign Ministry communique announced Wednesday evening.

A doctor and a nurse will also be aboard the plane, the note said, and Rome has applied to Albanian authorities for permission to land the transport plane.

The note also announced consultations are being held at European Community headquarters in Brussels, chaired by Italy "to sensitize the United Nations to the political and humanitarian problems in Albania."

Police Forces in Tirana Reportedly Doubled

AU0407181790 Vienna Television Service in German 1730 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Telephone report by Austrian journalist Wilfried Seywald from Tirana on 4 July—recorded]

[Text] I would say the situation is calm as always. This is not only because there are now more police forces in the streets. Several authorities have confirmed that there are about twice as many police in the streets as normal. Yet if one speaks with people, and if, at nighttime and in a hidden place, one has the opportunity to talk with unemployed people—officially these people are not unemployed but unwilling to work—then these people

clearly state that the situation has dramatically deteriorated, particularly in the past few days following the storming of the embassies. I believe that the Albanians will permit these embassy refugees to leave the country immediately, because they want to rid themselves of this problem.

Polish Embassy Demands 'Inviolability' in Tirana

LD0407200990 Warsaw PAP in English 1929 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—According to the Polish Foreign Ministry, 41 Albanians have been staying at the Polish Embassy in Tirana since last June 29, with the group including six women and a five-year old boy.

The Polish Embassy demanded the inviolability of the mission, and said the best solution would be if the Albanian refugees were guaranteed a possibility to legally leave their country.

First responses on the part of the Albanian authorities seemed to be negative. What they promised was only not to punish those who would leave the Polish mission of their own free will.

Over 700 Refugees Now in Foreign Embassies

AU0507101890 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] International efforts to find a solution for the refugees in Tirana continue. Far more than 700 Albanians, who want to leave the country, are staying in the Western Embassies. The EC plans to publish a joint statement today.

FRG Foreign Minister Genscher has reported that there are small children, one pregnant woman, and an injured man among the refugees in the FRG Embassy. A Lufthansa plane with provisions was unable to leave for Albania because Tirana refused permission to land.

Egypt, Bulgaria, Cuba Reportedly Return Refugees

AU0407103190 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Roland Machatschke report]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On the weekend [30 June-1 July] a group of about 20 people forced their entry into the building of the Turkish Embassy in Tirana—with success, because the Albanian authorities permitted them to leave the country practically immediately. Obviously, this piece of news spread, because on Sunday people tried to get into several embassies, avoiding the policemen who guarded the buildings.

The situation became critical on Monday evening [2 July], when trucks were used as rams to break holes in the garden walls and fences of the embassies of the FRG, Greece, and Italy. Police started to fire and people were injured.

Other refugees took refuge in the embassies of France, Poland, Turkey, Hungary, the CSFR, and the PRC. Asylum-seekers in the embassies of Bulgaria, Egypt, and Cuba did not have any luck. They were handed over to police. The bomb attack on the Cuban Embassy last night might have been an act of revenge. [passage omitted]

APA Reports 20 Demonstrators, 5 Policemen Injured

AU0507094290 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] The Austrian news agency, APA, reported today that, according to dissidents, at least 20 demonstrators and 5 policemen were injured during the mass escape and the demonstrations in Tirana at the beginning of the week.

Foreign Minister Genscher stated on Westdeutscher Rundfunk in the morning that provisions for the 86 Albanians who escaped to the embassy are still ensured. Yesterday, the Tirana government denied landing permission to a Lufthansa charter plane bringing additional provisions.

Bomb Explodes at Cuban Embassy in Tirana

AU0407074590 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 0730 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Tirana/Brussels—International efforts continue to find a solution for the about 200 Albanians, who have fled into several embassies in Tirana. Today in Brussels the EC will discuss a response to the events in the Albanian capital.

The Albanian Government has allegedly assured the refugees that they will receive passports. A total of 26 Albanians, who stayed in the Turkish Embassy, have already left the country. In the FRG Embassy there are four refugees who have been injured by shots from Albanian security forces. The FRG plans to send a supply plane to Tirana today.

Yesterday evening a bomb attack was carried out on the building of the Cuban Embassy in Tirana. It is likely that no one was injured. The building, which is located in the center of the Albanian capital, was damaged considerably. The perpetrators and the reason for the attack are still unknown.

Further on Bombing

AU0407084690 Tirana ATA in English 0832 GMT 4 Jul 90

["A Vile Terroristic Act"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 4 /ATA/—On July 3, at about 2230, a rudimentary bomb was flung in the courtyard of the Embassy of the Republic of Cuba in Tirana by unknown

people. Fortunately there were no injured except for some broken glasses and some slight damages in the building.

This is a base terroristic act aiming at impairing the very good relations existing between Albania and Cuba.

Expressing its regret to the Embassy of Cuba, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PSRA [People's Socialist Republic of Albania] assured it that all efforts will be made to discover the culprits and protecting measures will be taken to secure the seat of the embassy and its staff.

This ugly act cannot but arouse indignation and cause anger in our people who find in it direct links with the events of July 2 outside the foreign embassies in the capital.

[Vienna ORF Teletext in German at 0847 GMT reports the above, and adds: "It has been learned from Albanian refugees that in some cases the refugees have been handed over to the Albanian authorities. Cuba has also done this."]

People Express 'Indignation' at 'Hooligans'

AU0507104390 Tirana ATA in English 1009 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Unanimous Indignation and Condemnation by Our Social Public Opinion"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, July 5 (ATA)—The events of July 2 evening in Tirana have aroused the deep indignation and legitimate anger of our social opinion, who are working persistently and enthusiastically to translate into life the decisions of the recent plenums of the party CC [Central Committee] and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. Everywhere the working masses have condemned with indignation such acts that violate the interests of our people, aiming at staining the respect the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania enjoys on the international arena and at damaging the friendly relations of our country with the other states.

The newspapers "ZERI I POPULLIT" and "BASHKIMI" report today that on this occasion working collectives have addressed letters to the party Central Committee, through which they express their steel-like unity round the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head and the unwavering determination to march always forward on the road to socialism. The newspapers emphasize that the organizations of the Democratic Front in the capital's quarters and various collectives of work and production centres in the meetings organized have expressed the profound indignation and legitimate anger concerning the events of the evening of July 2.

The pensioner Kastriot Kruja writes in the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT" that the acts of some hooligans have aroused the indignation and anger of the youngsters. "Parasite individuals like them seek that no law or regulation functions in our society, said one of the youngsters. The decree on travelling freely being equipped with passport for travelling abroad is quite clear. It is not that these hooligans do not understand the law, but they are seeking to agitate waters, to damage the friendly relations with the other states and peoples, the good and honoured reputation of Albania. Being parasites and vagabonds I am convinced that they can never earn their living anywhere". Whereas another youngster said "some hooligans want to violate what is most sacred to us the freedom of the homeland and our life. We say to the enemies as always: we will never allow you to do so".

In the textile combine many workers discussed, emphasizing that we understand the term democracy and its deepening as is the strengthening of the public order, tranquility we enjoy, of the secure life we have. The hooligans know very well the power of the working class, therefore we tell them "work because only through work everything is attained. The material blessings come as a result of the toil". "ZERI I POPULLIT" cites the words of a worker, who was expressed "when we go home we sleep peacefully because we do not owe anything to any one, neither to work, nor the society. We have nothing to do with the hooligans and evil doers. These hooligans can never halt our enthusiasm at work to carry into effect the decisions of the 9th and 10th plenums of the party CC. These hooligans cannot disturb the relations with the friends and well wishers of Albania".

Whereas another worker of this combine states: "I have just come from abroad, where I visited my relatives. I went there easily. I saw with my own eyes everything and I would like to say to some here that they are on wrong side. There is nothing better than your country. Everything is to be found here, hence let us set down to work because the blessings do not come from the heaven".

"ZERI I POPULLIT" stresses that the working people and intelligentsia in the economic enterprises and institutions of the Nr. 2 region in the capital aired their deep indignation over the act of some hooligans in Tirana. These hooligans are not able to disturb the joyful atmosphere of our life, the miners of the coal mine of Valias said. They seek to create disturbances in our quiet life but we respond to them by enhancing our vigilance, mobilization at work to realize and overfulfil the planned tasks", whereas the youngsters of "Dinamo" plant said the act of the hooligans, who do not represent the youth of the capital and who are the scum of the society, has indignated us. They are the most lazy people who think they may live without working. The man is more glad and happier in his own country, near his family. The acts of these people do not divert us from the road we ourselves have chosen".

The newspaper "BASHKIMI" writes of the meetings organized by the Democratic Front organizations in the capital. A youngster in the quarter No.55 said "I am 26 years. Am indignant when I hear these acts are carried out by some youths. I am convinced they have nothing in common with our youth. We have a high morale, ardent

patriotism, great honesty and loyalty to the party". Whereas another youngster said "I evaluate everything attained in our country, I love and pay honour to everything attained. I work and live on my own sweat. I am young and like to see and know the world, but not through the embassy fence. The law guarantees me to go anywhere honoured as an Albanian, honoured as a member of an honoured society. Everyone may take a passport for travelling abroad today". Whereas a pensioner said among others: I am an aged man and I am glad to see that the youth is working devotedly for the homeland. The hooligans cannot darken our gains. They are men of low morale.

In the meeting of the working people of the "Enver" plant, pioneer of our mechanical industry, the newspaper "BASHKIMI" stresses, the workers voiced unanimously the unity characterizing our entire people round the party, the Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia in the lead: "We are indignant over the events of July 2 evening," the working people of the technical and scientific documentation and information center write in their letter. "We will by no means allow our state be impaired in the slightest, the socialist gains of our country be darkened".

Miners, Workers Condemn 'Hooligans'

AU0407205290

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 2000 GMT on 4 July devotes seven minutes of its regular 15-minute newscast to meetings of working people denouncing recent "hooligan acts" in Tirana.

After initial items on agricultural achievements, the announcer states: "Sound public opinion among the entire people is deeply indignant and disgusted at the acts of some hooligans who attempted to enter a foreign embassy by force, and the base terrorist act, directly linked with these acts, of the throwing of a rudimentary bomb into the courtyard of the Cuban Embassy in Tirana. It gives these (?degenerate) acts the harsh condemnation they deserve." These acts "attempt to strike at the spirit of revolutionary enthusiasm which has spread everywhere following the 10th party Central Committee plenum and the recent laws adopted by the People's Assembly, to sully the growing reputation of Albania in the international arena, and to damage our friendly relations with other states and peoples."

A correspondent from the Valias coal mine in Tirana District then states, "Here, as everywhere else, people are preoccupied with work to record new achievements during the second half of this year. However, our report today has a different topic. The entire collective has gathered in one of the halls of the mine in order to discuss with open hearts, rage, and indignation the illegal acts committed on Monday evening [2 July] at some embassies." Indistinct recordings of participants in the meeting follow, in which one miner talks about "our people's power, which was won with blood, and which the entire people will defend." The mine director is heard closing the meeting, urging the fulfillment of production plans.

In a report from a second, indistinct enterprise, a worker expresses "deep indignation," and states that "All these acts, all this unscrupulous adventurism cannot depress our morale, because Albania has endured, will endure, and will be what it has always been."

Greek Ambassador Cited on Clashes in Tirana

NC0307202790 Nicosia Domestic Service in Greek 2000 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] According to press reports the number of Albanians asking for political asylum in foreign embassies in Tirana is about 200, out of which about half are in the FRG Embassy. Others have taken refuge in the French, Italian, and Algerian Embassies, while five Albanians are in the Greek Embassy.

Meanwhile, in an interview with Greek television tonight, Greek Ambassador in Tirana Karkapasis said that the Albanian police injured at least four persons during clashes in Tirana last night. One of the injured has a bullet wound and his condition is serious. The Greek ambassador said that the clashes were especially violent last night. He added that the situation tonight is relevantly calm.

Press Reports 2 Jul Events, Hails Alia Line

AU0507094390 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Press Review"—ATA headline]

[Excerpt] Tirana, July 5 (ATA)—"Our Front—Organization of the Great Unity"—is the title of today's editorial of the newspaper "ZERI I POPULLIT". It stresses among the other things that almost one month has elapsed since the day when Comrade Ramiz Alia submitted an important speech at the meeting of the General Council of the DFA. A sound atmosphere of work and mobilization prevails everywhere to march resolutely on the road of the all-sided development of our society, the implementation of the decisions of the plenums of the party Central Committee.

The newspapers "ZERI I POPULLIT" and "BASHKIMI" under the headlines "Our Social Public Opinion Voice its Unanimous Indignation and Condemnation" and "Lofty Patriotic Spirit of the Members of the Democratic Front" carry different materials as interviews, dispatches, etc, stressing that the events of July 2 evening in Tirana have aroused the profound and legitimate indignation of our social public opinion, which persistently and enthusiastically work to translate into life the decisions of the recent plenums of the party Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. [passage omitted]

'Scholar' Assures Multiparty System 'Not Banned'

LD0407170190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] The Secretary of the Albanian Academy of Sciences has said, in an interview, that the multiparty system is not banned in the country, and that noncommunist candidates will also be able to run in the elections planned for January. The scholar, in a statement given in Tirana, did not deal with the disturbances which had been going on since Sunday. He also said that the constitution has not been amended, and that antisocialist propaganda and the clause concerning statements harming state interests have been deleted from the penal code. Thus, there is legally no obstacle to anyone being able to found a party which does not follow communist ideology.

Legal Expert on Readmission of Political Parties

AU0407133590 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 4 Jul 90 p 3

[Wilfried Seywald report from Tirana: "Political Parties To Be Readmitted in Albania"]

[Text] In the future the founding of political groups will be possible in Albania. Even though there is not yet a corresponding constitutional law, the criminal law, which came into force in May, no longer envisages any consequences for persons who want to form an anticommunist party. Luan Omari (65), Albanian constitutional law expert and secretary of the Academy of Sciences, said in an interview with the AUSTRIA PRESS AGENCY in Tirana. No one can be sentenced because of "antisocialist propaganda" and "statements that are hostile to the state" anymore.

In the last Stalinist bastion of Europe several parties existed at the beginning of the 1920's for the first and last time; afterwards King Zog ruled the small Balkan state at the Adriatic Sea as a dictator until Mussolini's troops invaded the country in 1939. After 46 years of self-chosen isolation, this spring the government of the Shqiptars set a sign of the country's opening up by declaring its intention to participate in the CSCE process.

Omari said that he would welcome the formation of opposition parties, but he does not see any historical preconditions for this. First of all, it is important to take the mass organizations of the Democratic Front, the women, the young people, and the trade unions out of the sphere of influence of the Communist Party. This is "a first step toward pluralism."

He called the reestablishment of the Justice Ministry, which was abolished in 1966, and the readmission of independent lawyers as of 1 November a further innovation "on the path toward democracy." In addition, at the next parliamentary elections in January, for the first time several candidates—including noncommunists—will run in the individual constituencies, regardless of whether or not the new election law has been completed by then.

Parliament's Standing Raised [subhead]

According to Omari, the standing of the parliament is also to be raised. For some time the parliamentary committees have had the right to request the ministers to account for their work. However, for him, Omari, this does not go far enough. This possibility should also exist in the sessions of the People's Assembly.

Concerning the question of freedom of the press, the constitutional law expert said: "The discussion has been going on since December. We can do more than in the past, and there are controversial articles in the newspapers." He himself would wish for more variety, but the readers are not yet used to this.

Striking Students, Protesters Clash in Sofia

AU0307141390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Jun 90 p 1

[Text] (Own information report)—On the afternoon of 29 June, in the garden between the university and National Assembly Square, striking "students" threw a stone which injured a woman lecturer from the Philosophy Faculty. A group of student agitators had come to the garden with to sabotage a rally organized by the "Women and Mothers Against Violence" movement, in which representatives of the Student Movement for Democracy also took part.

With hands raised-high in two-fingered victory signs, the agitators performed the familiar repertoire of slogans of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and finally broke up the rally calling for the student sit-in actions to be nonpolitical.

The speakers at the memorial to Kliment Okhridski, the enlightener of Bulgaria, insisted on a halt to the blockade of the higher education establishments. They declared support for the demands of the student occupiers, but resolutely opposed the method used. The appeals of the mothers against violence were met with loud jeers and the absurd catcall of "Murderers!" The same response was given to the words of the students and those working on their diplomas, who wanted to finish their examinations on time, as well as to the mother of a research student, who begged the students to give her child a chance.

From the improvised platform came a suggestion to calculate and publish the losses caused to Bulgaria by the student blockade. This, however, made no particular impression upon the chanting agitators, who continued brazenly whistling the appeals made by the women's rally.

After the speeches had ended, the two groups of organizers and "guests" mingled and engaged in a furious battle of words. Thus ended another unsuccessful attempt to conduct a peaceful dialogue with the students who have occupied our institutes of higher education.

Professors' Declaration on Strike

AU03u7132390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] About 25 minutes ago, we received a declaration addressed to the president (chairman) of our country; the chairman of the Council of Ministers; and the chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The declaration is signed by 14 professors from Sofia's Kliment Okhridski University.

The declaration recalls that the national students' strike at the higher education enterprises continues after 23 days, and analyzes the recent development of the strike. The 14 university professors' declaration says that if the students demands are not satisfied within 24 hours from 1800 [1500 GMT] on 3 July, the professors will begin an indefinite sit-in strike in front of the president's office.

The declaration reads: At 1800 [1500 GMT] on 4 July, when the strike is to begin, the professors will hold a news conference in front of the president's office, at which they will appeal for the active support of Bulgarian and foreign students.

Recent Developments Reported

AU0307185990 Sofia BTA in English 1728 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)—The demands of the striking students, namely, the making public of the results of the expertise of the video material on the president, of the Election Law violations, the resignation of the president of the Committee for TV, could be met back during the first week provided the Government and the president exhibited good will. However, they are still refusing to take a decision and are mounting the political tension, reads a declaration of lecturers supporting the students. The declaration is addressed to the president, the prime minister and the Bulgarian Socialist Party leader.

It accuses the ruling party of fanning up anti-student feelings. The Sofia University lecturers supporting the students said if the students' demands were not met within 24 hours they would go on an indefinite sit-in in front of the Presidency.

On the 23rd day of the strike, officials from the Presidency who had taken part in the negotiations with the students publicly voiced their conviction that the negotiations might end successfully if all sides were aware of their responsibility. The negotiations started on June 27. The officials hoped to end them on June 30, but the students did not turn up at the meeting, an announcement reads.

At a four-hour news conference broadcast life on Bulgarian Radio yesterday the strikers said negotiations had not been conducted for several days as the results resemble "stalling tactics", the students accused the authorities of lack of interest in the physical condition of those who had gone on indefinite and relay hunger strikes.

Yesterday the Veliko Turnovo students suspended their hunger strike on insistence of the local strike committee. A female student from Blagoevgrad was advised by the doctors to end her hunger strike. Herself and five other students went on a relay hunger strike. Three Blagoevgrad University lecturers have been staging a hunger strike since June 27. Today the supporters of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) from Khaskovo backing the students' demands went on a relay hunger strike. Seven students from Varna also went on a hunger strike today. It has been prompted by the incorrect conduct of the Bulgarian Socialist Party representative at yesterday's

news conference, of the home minister and of the president of Bulgarian TV, whose resignation is demanded by the students.

Pleven Students To Begin Hunger Strike

AU0307131790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The Strike Committee of the striking students from Pleven's Medical Institute, decided to begin an indefinite relay hunger strike at 0000 [2100 GMT], if by then their demands are not satisfied. As already announced, they are demanding that Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee on Television resign, and that the results of the investigation of the president's videoclip be published.

'Ultimatum' on Mladenov Videoclip

AU0407093190 Sofia BTA in English 0707 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Students Make Ultimatum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—We insist on announcing the experts' report on the authenticity of the video recording showing Bulgaria's president and on the resignation of the head of the Bulgarian Television Pavel Pisarev by 1800 hrs. today, it is said in the declaration of the strike committees of all higher institutes in the country which was made public this morning by the radio.

If these demands are not satisfied, the students will declare hunger and sitting strikes in front of the presidency and organize other forms of protest.

They point out that their demands as just and grounded, recognized by the major political forces. They call upon the public for support.

Professors Begin Sit-In at Presidency

AU0407193090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] A sit-in by professors and students from Sofia's University and their supporters from various organizations began in front of the Presidency.

An appeal was published. It points out that the students' just demands could have been fulfilled long ago if the president and the government had shown good will.

The national strike, the appeal stresses further, included indefinite and relay hunger strikes on the part of students and professors. Some of them already are in critical condition. The appeal invites the citizens to support the striking students by addressing letters and telegrams to the president and the government, and to stage sit-in strikes in front of the municipal people's councils and mayorships, rallies, and demonstrators.

Sofia citizens have been invited to join the sit-in strike in front of the Presidency and thus support the professors and students from the country's higher educational establishments.

Further on Sit-In

AU0407202790 Sofia BTA in English 1953 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Protesters Sit Down In Front Of Presidency"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—Two hours before Mr Petur Mladenov made his televised address to the nation, the small square in front of the Presidency Building in Sofia was filled with sitters of all age groups. Lecturers from the St Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia and from other higher educational establishments, students, a group of writers, representatives of the Actors for Democracy Movement, the leaders and supporters of the Alternative Socialist Party, groups from research institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and individual citizens responded to the calls for support of the students protest and staged a sit-down strike in front of the Presidency. The earliest to arrive were elderly professors, the poet Mr Konstantin Pavlov, the actor Mr Yosif Surchadzhiev, the writer Mr Georgi Mishev and other prominent intellectuals.

Academician Nikola Popov, the rector of Sofia University, was with the striking lecturers. He told a BTA reporter that he had not come to take part in the strike but supported the students demands. The rector said that he had promptly delivered the students' declarations to the authorities but declined to answer why a settlement of the dispute had been delayed so much.

Most of the declarations in support of the students, read out in the square, pointed out that their demands could have been met long ago. They also mentioned the serious condition of some hunger strikers.

The first ever demonstration in front of the Presidency and its Stalinist-style imposing building in downtown Sofia left those inside the presidency unperturbed. The chants "Resignation" went unanswered, too. While the protesters were sitting down, the president was recording his televised address.

Protest Continues

AU0507103690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Live studio report]

[Text] [Announcer] Our reporter Nina Spasova has just entered the studio. You were in the square in front of the Presidency, what is happening there?

[Spasova] Yes, the sit-in there still continues. Representatives of the strikers at all the higher education establishments in Sofia are present, I mean representatives of both the students and the teaching staff. Near them,

some writers have also started a sit-in. A large number of citizens have gathered, I would say about 200 or 300, and they are chanting "Resign, Resign!," that is, calling for the president's resignation.

The students showed me a new declaration, dated today, which is issued by the strike committees of the striking higher education establishments. The declaration calls for the resignation of President Petur Mladenov. Signatures are being collected for this declaration, and I was told that copies of the strike committee's new declaration are being duplicated at the moment in the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia. We expect to receive the full text at any moment, and will inform you of the contents.

Anti-Strike Petition Prepared

AU0507103890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Excerpts] As we reported earlier, the sit-in of students and professors of higher education establishments is continuing in front of the Presidency building. [passage omitted]

Also today, at 0930 [0630 GMT] in the garden in front of the St. Kiril and Metodi National Library in Sofia, the student movement, Students for Democracy, started collecting signatures on a petition calling for a halt to the student's sit-in and objecting to the political demands already declared. According to the movement, this conflicts with the statute for the autonomy and depolitization of the higher education establishments in Bulgaria.

By midday, about 250 signatures had been collected. The students obtained a permit to collect signatures in the garden in front of the National Library following talks with the Sofia City People's Council and the management of the library.

Nikolay Leontiev, official spokesman of the Students for Democracy Movement, announced that signatures will also be collected in Tolbukhin, Veliko Turnovo, Plovdiv, and Varna.

BSP, Government Discuss 'Escalation' of Tension

AU0507095890 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 4 Jul 90 p 1

[Angel Bonev report]

[Text] At their joint meeting held on 3 July the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the government discussed the postelection situation in the country and the escalation of political tension.

In his introductory speech Andrey Lukanov stressed the risk posed by attempts to paralyze the state organs and the strong attacks on the newly formed institution of the Presidency before the Grand National Assembly session. The aim was to diminish their authority, make them dependent on external pressure, and gradually create a vacuum in the power structures. The leader of the government stated that now it is important to do everything to guarantee the normal operation of the new parliament and to prevent lawful power from being made the objective of political pressure.

A statement of the Supreme Party Council was submitted for discussion. The following people took part in the discussion: Boris Todorov, Plamen Parushev, Toncho Zhechev, Valeri Tsekov, Aleksandur Tomov, Mincho Yovchev, Kiril Nikolov, Nikolay Iribadzhakov, Iliyan Iliev, Svetlin Rusev, Vasil Mruchkov, Asen Zhablenski, Stefan Staykov, Veselin Pavlov, Peycho Peychev, Filip Bokov, Oleg Oprev, Stefan Ninov, Stefan Stoilov, and Chavdar Kyuranov.

Mladenov Addresses Nation on Recent Developments

AU0407175690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Speech by President Petur Mladenov; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear Compatriots: We live in historic times. Through common efforts, we have changed exceptionally large parts of Bulgarian life. We are on the threshold of the transition toward a modern civic society. In a few days, the first session of the Grand National Assembly, freely elected by all the people, will open. The problems that the country must resolve are numerous: The working out of the new Constitution, introducing the market economy, the ethnic issue, eliminating social defects, conducting legal-administrative reform, and so on. It is necessary to conduct renewal in all spheres under conditions of democracy, pluralism, and people's government. It is obvious that the successful solution of those problems is impossible without civic peace and national consensus.

Simultaneously, tension in society has visibly increased in recent days. There have been frequent violations of public order, strikes, manifestations of civil disobedience. Attacks against the president also became an important part of the attempts to destabilize society.

You understand that it is difficult for me to speak about this. However, I must do this. In what have I been accused today? Why have I been subjected to unprecedented pressure and attacks? Perhaps because I established a dictatorship? Or because I have wronged the citizens? Or because I have deprived workers of their bread and shelter? Or because I have introduced repressive and antihuman customs? Or because I have signed death sentences that have been carried out?

Obviously, this is not the case. The Bulgarian president is being attacked because of one sentence, on the basis of which deliberate insinuations are being made. Those insinuations contradict my entire political and human life and my understandings as a political figure and statesman.

Against the background of the fateful people's problems and feelings my personal problems and feelings are not that important. However, as a political figure and Bulgarian president, I have my tasks and responsibilities.

On 10 November I fulfilled my duty related to eliminating totalitarianism, so that there would never again be terror in our land. As president and head of state, elected with the agreement of all political forces, I see my mission exclusively in the prosperity of democratic Bulgaria.

The date, 14 December 1989, was one when our newly born Bulgarian democracy was subjected to a supreme test. It can be said that its fate was on the line that day. Under those extremely strenuous conditions, I can say that I and my colleagues made all possible efforts to avoid the worst. I am convinced that the facts speak most eloquently about our intentions. The fact that from that fateful day until today the transition toward the democratic social system has been taking place in a peaceful and nonviolent manner. Consequently, what is being suggested by the sentence, which has been taken out of context, fully contradicts my political practice and my convictions about democracy, and my way of thinking, if you will.

I am deeply convinced that the Bulgarian people, with their realistic and ancient sense, will believe not the words but the deeds, the real deeds of the president.

In addition, Bulgaria knows very well who condemned the violent excesses of totalitarianism; who called for signing a national agreement on nonviolence and observing the law and the citizens' rights.

Now our society is on the threshold of epochal changes. However, if we are to successfully cross this threshold we, as a nation and state, must give a clear and unambiguous answer to a basic question: Shall we respect the parliamentary system and its institutions? Shall we respect the civilized norms of public relations? It is lethal when one hand creates, while the other destroys. We all must implement the supreme people's order and prevent the foiling of the process of democracy, which came about so successfully, and for which we were greeted by the entire world. This would be a tragedy for Bulgaria.

Using precisely the same words, I addressed the people gathered around the National Assembly on 14 December 1989.

At these responsible moments, let us all understand that the interests of Bulgaria, rather than the interests of separate individuals, groups, and parties, are important above everything else.

I think that it would be especially important if the young generation, the students, and our children, understand this serious necessity. I sincerely believe them.

SDS, BZNS Leaders React

AU0407182790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] After the address of Petur Mladenov, president of the Republic, on Bulgarian television and radio, the leaders of the Union of Democratic forces [SDS] and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], Zhelyu Zhelev and Viktor Vulkov, issued brief statements.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said: I think that the admission of Mr. Petur Mladenov is an important statement, which gives reason to believe that the students' strike should approach its end. At the same time, he expressed puzzlement with the fact that the mass media have not reported, until now, that Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Committee on Television, submitted yesterday his written resignation.

Viktor Vulkov said: All basic demands of the students have been fulfilled. On behalf of the BZNS he appealed for an end to the strikes as soon as possible.

BSP Supreme Council Issues Declaration

AU0407204690 Sofia BTA in English 2017 GMT 4 Jul 90

["BSP Supreme Council on the Situation in the Country"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] condemns the attempts to stir social tensions in the country on the eve of the first session of the newly elected National Assembly. A statement released for publication this evening says that what is questioned in essence are the results of the elections, "acknowledged as free and democratic by the competent state bodies, which the national roundtable talks created by consensus, and by the people and the thousands of international observers."

The BSP Supreme Council believes that the actions intended to compromise the elections and their escalation may lead to unforeseeable complications of the situation in the country.

"The declaration of this approach as the only democratic one and the calls to carry out a 'gentle revolution' against the will of the people, expressed freely and unambiguously in the elections on June 10 and 17, 1990, are puzzling and alarming," the statement says.

In connection with the striking students' demand to make public all election abuses, the BSP Supreme Council recalls that the complaints about these matters should be addressed to the Grand National Assembly and that the BSP campaign center has promptly submitted to the Central Electoral Commission a list of irregularities discovered by its representatives.

Along with that it is stressed that the BSP Supreme Council accepts the ruling of the Central Electoral Commission whereby the legitimacy of the Grand National Assembly cannot be called into question.

The statement recalls that Mr. Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee, has already submitted his written resignation which will be considered by the Grand National Assembly Parliamentary-Cum-Public Commission on Radio and Television. A discussion of the matter should cover the overall work of the television management so as to secure its non-partisanship and objectivity.

"The attempts to destabilize the country involve, among other things, a direct political attack on the head of state," the statement says. The BSP Supreme Council emphasizes that what matters most in politics are the actual facts, the actual policy line implemented by the president of Bulgaria.

According to the BSP leadership, Mr. Petur Mladenov takes enormous credit for the elimination of the authoritarian regime on November 10, 1989 and plays an important role for the peaceful transition to democracy. "There is not a single fact about a use of force in the maintenance of public order since November 10," the BSP Supreme Council emphasizes.

In conclusion, the BSP Supreme Council calls on the political and public forces in the country to take a highly responsible view of the will of the people, reflected in the election results, and to do their utmost so as to end the confrontation for the sake of common positive work.

DEMOKRATSiYA Statement on Mladenov Video

AU0407093490 Sofia BTA in English
0731 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—A witness declaration on the authenticity of the video record concerning the president's words is brought out in today's DEMOKRATSIYA.

Evgeniya and Yagoda Lazarov declare that on December 14 last year the film director Evgeni Mikhaylov came to their home a little after the rally in front of the National Assembly when President Mladenov failed to calm down the demonstrators.

They saw the videocassette containing the film material he had made immediately. Despite the poor quality of the sound and the noise raised by the shouted slogans we clearly heard and saw how Mr. Mladenov, stopping at the entrance of the National Assembly, uttered the words "Let the tanks come," the Lazarovs state.

Experts Declare Videoclip 'Genuine'

AU0407194490 Sofia BTA in English
1932 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Experts Say Videotape Is Genuine"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—The general findings of the panel of experts are that the tape submitted to examination is authentic and has not be tampered with.

The footage which was examined undoubtedly contains the phrase said by President Mladenov: "The tanks should better move in."

The panel completed its work today.

Further on 'Authenticity'

AU0407202390 Sofia BTA in English
1957 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—The Criminal Investigation Department confirmed the authenticity of the videotape showing President Petur Mladenov at a protest rally on December 14, 1989.

The Criminal Investigation Department points out that this is the first time that such an expert examination has been carried out in Bulgaria, involving 31 experts in various fields of science, technology and art.

After discussing the experts' findings and the evidence collected on the case, the investigative authorities will make public their stand.

TV Committee Chairman Pisarev Resigns

AU0407181990 Sofia BTA in English
1742 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—Mr Pavel Pisarev, chairman of the Television Committee, has handed in his resignation in writing, the National Assembly Press Center announced today.

The students, which have been striking all over the country since June 11, have demanded Mr Pisarev's resignation.

Mr Pavel Pisarev insists that a future parliamentary committee consider the work of the former television management "due to the public tension stirred around the television."

Lukanov Visits Ruse, Speaks on Pollution

AU0307204390 Sofia BTA in English
2010 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)—The ecological problems of the town of Ruse whose residents have been for nine years now suffering from constant gas poisoning by Romanian Chemical Works is exacerbating.

Prime Minister Lukanov started talks today in Ruse with representatives of the political parties.

The already mistrustful Ruse residents due to the repeated assurances that their problem will be settled are holding a symbolic relay strike at the border check point.

The Civil Disobedience Committee is holding every evening from 19 to 21 hours [1600 to 1800 GMT] a strike on the bridge.

The Striking Committee said it will resort to an occupational strike of Danube Bridge as of 19 hours [1600 GMT] on July 4 if Mr Lukanov fails to fulfill his commitments taken on Friday [29 June] in Sofia.

The Ruse public wants a closure of the Giurgiu Chemical Works and an independent international expertise. The public requested the prime minister to clarify the results from his talks with Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman. The two are to have talks tomorrow.

Today Ecoglasnost, the Green Party and the Podkrepa TU Federation urged Sofionites to back the Ruse residents.

The BTA Ruse correspondent says 16 per cent of the Ruse children have diseases. Out of 3500 children checked 236 have respiratory diseases which shows the poor state of the environment, 85 have nervous diseases while 30 have blood vessel diseases.

Will Discuss Pollution With Roman

AU0407095490 Sofia BTA in English
0728 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Ruse, 4 Jul (BTA)—At a meeting held last night with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov the inhabitants of Ruse made once again their uncompromising demand to stop immediately the Giurgiu Chemical Plant which has been polluting the air in the Bulgarian Danubian city for nine years and to refer the matter to an independent commission of experts. Assuring them that the government and the Bulgarian public are greatly concerned over the ecological problem of Ruse, Mr. Lukanov pointed out that the position of the citizens of the city was the only possible one. He gave his word that at the meeting with Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, which is to take place in Bucharest, he would defend the just cause of the population of Ruse. The leader of the Bulgarian Government gave assurances once more that he would conduct a fair and constructive dialogue with his Romanian counterpart and that he would personally report the results to the inhabitants of Ruse this evening. Mr. Lukanov will take to Bucharest the address of the citizens of Ruse sent to the inhabitants of all Bulgarian Danubian towns in which they are called upon to declare a 48-hour effective sit-in strike at the border checkpoints, if the results of the prime ministers' meeting are found unsatisfactory.

Border Rally Held

AU0407210990 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] This evening, several thousands Ruse citizens besieged the Danube Bridge Border Checkpoint in anticipation of the news that Andrey Lukanov, leader of the Bulgarian Government, was to bring from Bucharest.

Precisely at 1900 [1600 GMT], for the fourth night in row, supporters of the Civic Disobedience Initiative, carrying national and black flags, blocked the border checkpoint and closed the border along the bridge on the River Danube for all vehicle transportation for 24 hours in protest against the continuing chlorine emissions and in the memory of the victims of the unannounced chemical war against ruse, which continues for almost 10 years.

About 1930 [1630 GMT], a rally began near the border checkpoint. Premier Andrey Lukanov, who just arrived from Bucharest, announced that an agreement had been reached with the Romanian Government on immediately stopping production at the second plant of the Giurgiu Chemical Works, and that economic experts will produce a competent opinion on all issues related to ecology in the Bulgarian-Romanian section of the River Danube, especially in the Ruse-Giurgiu area.

Agreement on Factories Reached

AU0407203090 Sofia BTA in English
1941 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Plant Polluting Ruse Will Be Shut Down"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—After nine years of futile discussions, the Governments of Bulgaria and Romania have finally agreed on the shutdown of chemical installations polluting the air in the Bulgarian city of Ruse from Giurgiu, Romania, across the River Danube. The agreement was reached in Bucharest today at talks between Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and Mr Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania.

The two heads of Government reached agreement that the two countries should work out a common methodology to assess the quality of the environmental factors. This methodology will be also used to take readings in the areas of the nuclear power plants on Bulgarian territory.

Bilateral economic relations and trade were on the agenda, too.

Mr Andrey Lukanov was received by Mr Ion Iliescu, president of Romania.

Interviewed for Bulgarian Television, the two premiers said they had decided to form a joint commission of government experts to consider the whole range of problems concerning the production of the combined works in Giurgiu.

Mr Andrey Lukanov made it clear that for the first time in many years the Romanian side had agreed to provide information about the production of the so-called "Working Area Three" of the Giurgiu plant, which has been rumored to manufacture chemical warfare agents.

Mr Petre Roman had dismissed those rumors and had expressed readiness to familiarize the Bulgarian side with the feedstock and with the manufacturing processes.

The possibility was also considered to have this "working area three" moved to another part of the country.

BSP Council Approves Lukanov as Candidate Premier

AU2906210090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 29 June 90

[Text] We have just received details about the meeting of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. We start with the news that the candidature of Andrey Lukanov as prime minister has been approved and will be submitted to the president of the Republic for submission to the Grand National Assembly.

At the meeting the BSP Supreme Council made a critical analysis of the post-election situation in the country and the state of the party, the report states.

Noting certain conclusions to be drawn from the BSP campaign for the Grand National Assembly elections, Lyuben Gotsev pointed out that most of the voters supported the idea of change associated with stability. He drew attention to a number of weaknesses and shortcomings, and drew the conclusion that the trust of some voters has been obtained in advance.

Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, delivered a report on the main political conclusions on the elections and on the need for a second phase in the party's renewal.

Analyzing the situation following the elections, he emphasized that Bulgarian society is in a state of transition toward the market economy and parliamentary democracy. A strong politization and polarization of society was noted, and it was stressed that without the joint efforts of all parties it would be difficult to achieve social calm. According to him, it has begun to be realized in society that it will be impossible to escape from the crisis without national concord.

A detailed examination was made of the key problems which the BSP faces at the present. Four problems were identified as of concern for the party's strategy: the new Constitution, the nationality issue, ecological issues, and economic reform. On these it was necessary to reach a national consensus. A further strategic concern will be the further renewal of the party.

More than 20 people took part in the debate, which covered a wide range of questions, the report states.

National Interests Committee Holds Sofia Rally

AU3006144790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] At the moment a rally is in progress in Aleksandur Nevski Square in Sofia, organized by the Nationwide Committee for Defense of National Interests, with participants from all over the country. The slogans displayed at the rally state: "Bulgaria above all," and "Bulgaria—united and indivisible."

Groups of people have gathered in Aleksandur Nevski Square from Kurdzhali, Turgovishte, Shumen, Razgrad, Tolbukhin, and Varna. The numerous speakers at the rally accuse the major political forces in Bulgaria of being on the way toward betraying Bulgaria for the sake of narrow party interests, concealed behind democratic ideals. "We have to decide which path our children are to take—toward Europe or Asia," states one of the slogans at the rally, which is still continuing.

Call for Opening State Security Archives

AU0407134490 Sofia BTA in English 1100 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jul (BTA)—Let us invite the Grand National Assembly to cleanse itself, journalist Dilyan Todorov writes today in a front-page note published by DUMA.

In his opinion one of the first tasks the Grand National Assembly should tackle is inspecting the dossiers of the national representatives kept in the archives of the State Security Department and the Ministry of the Interior.

Todorov insists that Minister Semerdzhiev should allow a special commission of honest M.P.'s unimpeded access to these embarrassing documents which go by the name of dossiers.

For years on end to get a promotion in the hierarchy, besides being a member of the Communist Party, one had to cooperate in "gathering information" about one's colleagues and friends, the journalist writes.

He points out that his note has been written in connection with the somewhat forgotten talk before the elections. At that time some people were said to be cooperative in the above-mentioned sense. But then some of them got on the lists of candidates for national representatives, Todorov says.

ASO Leader Fears 'Pseudo-Reforms' in BSP

AU0407163990 Sofia BTA in English 1604 GMT 4 Jul 90

["ASO Is Afraid of Pseudo-Reforms In the BSP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Jun (BTA)—We are not so much afraid of the conservative forces in the party, what scares us more are the attempts to do pseudo-reforms, Prof Ivan

Nikolov, chairman of the Alternative Socialist Association (ASO)—a faction of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]— told journalists today. He said that, according to ASO, the reform in the BSP after the elections should start with a broad interparty discussion which should clearly outline the theoretical and ideological differentiation among the BSP members and seek, on this basis a unity in the party.

Ten days ago at ASO's last conference, part of the delegates said that their association should quit the BSP and establish itself as an individual party. The opinions which prevailed, however, were that ASO should remain as a faction and promote the BSP reforming from the inside. According to a sociological inquiry the delegates pointed the end of September and the beginning of November as the most suitable for the forthcoming BSP congress.

Ivan Nikolov estimated the students' strike as a step forward towards democracy in this country. The ASO leadership thinks that nobody can forbid strikes and that the losses from the students strike should be sacrificed for the sake of the development of democratic youth. And same as the strike is important as a form of protest it is also necessary to hold a constructive dialogue for the conflicts settlement, Ivan Nikolov said.

Ivan Kalchev, editor-in-chief of ASO's newspaper DEN said that the initiative of a group of reformers in the BSP which are calling a national conference at the end of this month, is in fact, "a game of the apparatus". Some of the authors of this idea have cabinets at the Council of Ministers or at the BSP Supreme Council and their addresses and materials are easily published in DUMA, the BSP daily, he said.

European Movement Council Adopts Plan, Statute

AU0307200490 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 3 Jul 90

["For the Expansion of All-European Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Jul (BTA)—The Bulgarian National Council for the European Movement adopted at a session today a program and statute of the organization.

The council will help promote all-European cooperation, for an above-national integration of political parties and non-governmental organizations. It will protect the idea of all-European unity, of peaceful future. It is a voluntary, independent and self-governed organization of free citizens, based on democratic principles. It is expected to be adopted as a collective member of the European movement.

Foreign Minister Dimitrov Arrives in Brussels

AU0207202990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] On 2 July, at the invitation of the EC Commission, main coordinator of the Group of 24's activities, Minister of Foreign Affairs Boyko Dimitrov arrived in Brussels.

On 4 July he will speak at the conference of the Group of 24, which will be at the level of foreign affairs ministers. The conference will review the results of the work of the Group of 24 until now, and will adopt a decision on expanding its activity vis-a-vis several East European countries, including Bulgaria.

Boyko Dimitrov will also conduct talks with the ministers of foreign affairs of the countries of the Group of the 24, and leading EC officials.

Meets With Andriessen

AU0307203990 Sofia BTA in English 2003 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Brussels, 3 Jul (BTA)—Bulgarian Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov who is here to attend the foreign ministers meeting of the Group of the 24 met Mr Frans Andriessen, vice president of the EC Commission.

The talks centered on Bulgaria's foreign debt, the prospects for assistance by the EC and the Group of the 24 if it approves the expansion of the aid for Bulgaria. Mr Andriessen said the matter would be reviewed at tomorrow's conference and voiced his optimism about the outcome.

The two also discussed the implementation of the Bulgaria-EC Trade and Cooperation Agreement. The European Parliament will approve the agreement after its summer break, Mr Andriessen said, so the session of the mixed committee will be held this autumn.

Several priority trends of assistance to Bulgaria by the Group of the 24 were discussed: farming, ep [expansion unknown], cadres training, assistance in the application of market economy elements.

Bulgaria may expect an EC aid worth over 30 million dollars.

On request by the Bulgarian Government Mr Dimitrov placed the question of direct EC assistance in the settlement of the ecological problems around Ruse. Mr Andriessen's response was positive. The EC will render Bulgaria assistance for an independent expertise around the ecological situation in Ruse through modern gaging devices. This may happen this October.

Talks With EC Officials, Baker

AU0407200590 Sofia BTA in English 1936 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Brussels, 4 Jul (BTA correspondent)—The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs, Mr Boyko Dimitrov, who is visiting here at the invitation of the Commission of the European Communities to attend the G-24 foreign ministers conference, conferred successively with some of his counterparts of G-24 members.

Mr Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs of Italy, who holds the European Community Council Presidency between July 1 and December 31, 1990, expressed his readiness to assist the positive promotion of the relations between the Community and Bulgaria.

The Italian foreign minister said he was ready to support the idea of setting up a mechanism within the Community, backed by the necessary resources, to aid East European countries which have problems with their balance of payments.

Mr Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs of Spain, reaffirmed his country's willingness to help Bulgaria overcome its economic difficulties through the European Community, the G-24 and on a bilateral basis. Spain takes a positive view of its Government's participation and on its business circles' initiatives in support of the economic reforms in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian minister discussed bilateral relations with Mr James Baker, U.S. secretary of state. They considered matters concerning the granting by the U.S. to Bulgaria of a most favored nation trading status and the stand of the U.S. Administration on Bulgaria's applications for membership in international lending institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Federal Assembly Elects Havel President

LD0507091490

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0855 GMT on 5 July broadcasts a live relay of the Federal Assembly session in Prague Castle. Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek chairs the session, which has completed voting on Vaclav Havel's nomination for the presidency. Havel is the sole candidate.

Dubcek asks the commission chairmen to give the voting results.

The Federal Assembly Chamber of People: 139 deputies voted, all the ballots are valid; 114 voted in favor, 25 against. Havel is elected by a three-fifths majority of the Chamber of People.

The Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations results: for the Slovak Republic, 73 deputies voted; 57 voted in favor and 16 against. For the Czech Republic: 72 deputies voted; 63 voted in favor and nine against.

Dubcek declares that Havel has been elected president.

Further on Election

LD0507104290 Prague CTK in English 0846 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 5 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (Parliament) met at Vladislav hall at Prague Castle today to elect a new Czechoslovak president for the next two years.

The only candidate for the post is Vaclav Havel, proposed by deputies for the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence political movements, who held the post from December 29, 1989, to July 4, 1990.

The two movements, which inspired and controlled the November 1989 "Velvet revolution", fared best in the June 8-9, 1990 parliamentary elections. Playwright Vaclav Havel, a leading representative of independent civic initiatives in opposition against the former Communist regime, and one of the founders of the Civic Forum, promised on his election at the end of last year to lead Czechoslovakia to free elections. Their successful realization with the participation of 22 political parties, movements and coalitions, has naturally made him a president who should carry on the drive for transformation of the life of the country.

Vaclav Havel pushed through the proposal that the new Federal Parliament and the Czech and Slovak national Councils (Republic parliaments) be elected for only a two-year transitional period.

Therefore, the Federal Assembly passed an amendment to the Constitutional Law on the presidential election under which the new president will hold the post also for only two years against usual five years.

Essential changes should be carried out in this period in the economic, social and administrative system, and the country, renewed on democratic principles, should be brought back to Europe.

One of the major tasks in the next two years will be the working out of new Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak Constitutions.

In his latest appearance before Parliament on June 29, Vaclav Havel said that the new Constitution of Czechoslovakia should, within the development of democracy, adjust the present powers of the head of state which, in his view, are too extensive and conforming to the former Communist power methods.

The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly (Parliament) today elected Vaclav Havel new Czechoslovak president for the next two years. He polled more than the necessary three-fifths of votes.

In the secret vote, as many as 114 out of the 139 present deputies to the House of the People of the Federal Assembly voted for Vaclav Havel.

In the House of nations 63 out of the 72 deputies elected in the Czech Republic, and 57 out of the 73 deputies elected in the Slovak Republic cast their votes for Vaclav Havel.

Dubcek Speech Proposing Havel Presidency

LD0507112190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0807 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Speech by Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek at Federal Assembly session in Prague Castle—live]

[Text] Dear deputies. Allow me to make a short speech on the proposal for the election of the CSFR President; that is, on the candidacy of Mr. Vaclav Havel.

Dear deputies and guests, a new stage has begun in our intense and rapid development from a totalitarian, stagnating system to a democratic—and let us believe a prosperous—society. This stage has begun with an event of such importance as the recent elections to the representative bodies of the CSFR— the first free elections in over 40 years. As a result, we have new republic bodies, a new Federal Assembly, and the state government. It is a logical development that today we are electing our president. This will end the revolutionary provisional arrangements which we have been living through from 17 November last year, and which we have successfully traversed, despite many problems. Now we can enter a state of affairs which will be based on the freely displayed will of the peoples to have full political democracy.

Our problems and tasks, however, do not end here. In the next stage we will have to round off our political democracy. The main thing will be to create a functioning mechanism, based on good laws, on expert

knowledge, and on people of quality and honor. Our aim will be to achieve a prosperous economy which would gradually make possible, without unnecessary surprises, attaining a satisfactory social standard for all our people. The important thing will be that we are able to harmonize the interests of our two nations, that we are able to give appropriate rights to both national republics, and, at the same time, to preserve state unity and a successful functioning of the state as a whole.

It will also be an important thing not to permit in a new pluralist democracy narrow party interests to outweigh the interests of everyone. The path which has been opened by free elections and to which two years have been allocated will again be filled with tasks, of which there will certainly be more than I have been able to list here, and which will not only affect the spheres of politics, law, and economy, but also the sphere of culture and morality.

Therefore, it will be necessary that not only well-functioning bodies and institutions are in the forefront of our society, but that it is also led by people who are able, selfless, and morally firm. We have tried to achieve this in the bodies of the republic and the state, which have already been installed.

What matters today is that we put a man of necessary qualities in the office of the highest state representative—the president of the republic. Therefore, I have been given the task by the Initiative Group of Deputies to propose to you, the Federal Assembly, that a man who was in this office during the critical interim period—Mr. Vaclav Havel—be reelected as president of the republic.

These are our reasons:

In the difficult period which we have experienced, Vaclav Havel has proved himself a politician, statesman, and also a man. I of course have on my mind the period during which he carried out his presidential office. But that is not all. Vaclav Havel also proved himself during the circumstances when being on the summmit of power and glory was not what was at stake. He also proved himself during the suppression of freedom and rights, when it was neither easy nor advantageous to show a firm civic stand and courage. When we had a choice between prison and the safety of emigration, he chose to remain with the nation, even at the cost of personal disadvantages and lack of freedom. This shows a character which marks Vaclav Havel as a man for whom personal interest does not represent the highest value in life. He proved that in the next period, when he became one of the leading personalities of the wider movement which fought with Charter 77 and other movements against the totalitarian regime. It linked up with our effort in 1968 and brought this fight along with the reformers of that time to a new higher quality, which corresponded to contemporary tasks. This movement, united in its variety, and in which the young generation made a significant appearance, became the key factor on 17 November. Here Vaclav Havel again showed initiative, personal courage, and political ability, which justly brought him in to the leading position during the revolutionary and also post-revolutionary days, and also during the interim period which we are completing today.

He has proved himself in the office of president. Along with the changes in our entire society, Vaclav Havel has been developing too. He has become an appreciated authority in the Czech lands, and also in Slovakia, and in our entire homeland. He has contributed significantly to the formation of our foreign policy and shares considerably in bringing about the recognition which our republic enjoys abroad.

During this period I have known him as a convinced democrat, a man who is tolerant and liberal-minded. He also has great merits in preventing development from sliding into the path of revenge, political intrigues, confrontations, and a lack of tolerance.

Vaclav Havel, playwright, has won with his work in the presidential chair the trust of our peoples. I was with him in the hour of his release from prison. I was with him in the time of our new revolutionary rebirth at the platforms of Wenceslas Square and of Letna. I join the proposal and recommend that Vaclav Havel be elected to the office of president of the republic for the next two-year period. Thank you for you attention.

Government Approves Draft Program Statement

LD0207191890 Prague CTK in English 1726 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 2 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Government completed its program statement today. At its today's session it approved the draft statement with minor changes and entrusted Premier Marian Calfa with delivering it to the parliament tomorrow. The Czechoslovak premier will address the Federal Assembly on Tuesday, July 3, 1990 at 8.00 GMT.

The document includes a timetable of the economic reform.

The government also returned to the issue of screening and agreed to complete the screening of Czechoslovakia's foreign missions' workers. It discussed inter alia the question of service flats for ministers and abolished the disputed part of the April 26, 1990 resolution so that the government members will pay all costs connected with the equipment and operation of a potential service flat themselves. This measure concerns only those who do not live in Prague.

Calfa Delivers Policy Statement

LD0307104290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0817 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Government policy statement" delivered by Premier Marian Calfa at the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly session in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Speaker of the Federal Assembly, esteemed Mr. presiding Chairman, esteemed Deputies:

Allow me on behalf of the government of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic to acquaint you with the program of the new federal government.

In drafting it, we proceeded from the conviction that in the election the people voted for a dignified life of free men using the fruits of civilization in a healthy environment. In order to completely fulfill this desire, the time available to us up to the next elections will not be enough. We must, however, use the two-year period allowed to us to reach this goal as closely as possible and to create conditions for equably continuing on the course embarked upon.

An essential prerequisite to meet the demands of our people is the integration of our country as an equal partner in world and European integration processes. This integration calls for us to carry out a very complicated economic and social maneuver. To carry this out successfully will require activity from each citizen. The aim is clear. Let us chart the course toward it.

Ladies and gentlemen, in order to achieve the set aim, it is necessary to know from what position we are proceeding, what means and, last but not least, what powers we have at our disposal. The preelection period provoked a great deal of criticism, ideas, and disputes concerning relations between the federation, republics, regions, towns, and villages. In following up these debates, we regard it our duty to give the government a place which belongs to it. We want it, as the highest executive organ of power, to carry out the will of the Federal Assembly, and, at the same time, to esnure that it carries out the powers entrusted to it by the Constitution. This means that we do not see the government as a kind of general director of the national economy, issuing direct orders, a position into which it has been manipulated up to now.

Our joint mandate, derived from the first free elections in 44 years, has been restricted to two years. The culmination of our legislative work will be the drafts of the new constitutions of the Federation, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Consolidated in it will be the rights and freedoms of citizens within the full extent of the international documents dealing with human rights. Also defined in it will be the mutual powers of the republics and the Federation in such a way that they will correspond to the sovereign interests of both our nations, and the eventual requirements of establishing regional governments. We support the idea of local self-administration because the administration of towns and villages is a condition of the emancipation of each individual and our whole civic society, as well as being an essential means of tackling the present economic, social, cultural, and ecological problems.

We know that only strong self-administration can reshape the previous life-style of citizens depending on instructions and subsidies handed down from the center. The new understanding of the self-administration of towns and villages calls for a thorough separation in the legislative amendment of state administration from local political self-administration of villages and towns.

Territorial self-administration is an important enough form of organizing state, public, and individual affairs that its extent and content must be guaranteed by the Constitution, and the guarantees of self-administration of villages must be underpinned by the law on self-administration of villages and towns, characterizing the village as a self-administrative subject.

The present state of the legal code in which obsolete legal norms, many of which have outlived their usefulness, coalesce with new legislative acts and partial amendments, does not constitute a well-integrated system. To introduce logic into the legal code that would provide legal guarantees for citizens is not an easy task. It will call for close cooperation between the government and the constitutional and legal committees of the Federal Assembly, theoretical institutions, and representatives of the legal profession. The shaping of a cultivated legal system requires sufficient time, which we, however, do not have. We shall, in cooperation with the legislative bodies of both republics, work on essential amendments and partial legal modification, which will not tolerate delay and without which it would not be possible to initiate economic reform. At the same time, however, we shall begin work on major codification, such as, for instance, on the new civic, commercial, and penal code, which, along with the constitutions, would lay the foundation for a democratic legal system.

The government will strive to ensure that our state returns to Europe. In this connection, it is resolved to ensure that in the community of the European nations, the Czechs and Slovaks are able to act as independent and equal subjects. We, however, regard as beyond dispute that the Czech and Slovak Federal Republics, as a single state, must have a single economic, social, and ecological strategy, as well as instruments to implement it, a single currency, a single Army, foreign policy, and statistical system. We regard all the institutions and activities derived from these postulates as the natural area of the federal government's jurisdiction. In relating to the outside world, our state must have a representation, whose strength will lie not only in morally and politically integrated personalities, but, in particular, in the morally strong and united society which they will represent.

We proceed from the premise that within the borders of the CSFR there exists a single market, which will continue to develop, which means a free movement of goods, money, and labor. It is especially important to realize the following fact: that is, that a single market must be jointly shaped by a single legislature, a single foreign trade policy, and in principle a single financial system and employment and social laws.

The government is convinced that a retreat from the aforementioned principles would be a step backward, a development which would run completely counter to the endeavors and trends in the advanced world.

Prosperous republics need a strong federation, and a strong federation can grow only from the authentic will of strong republics. On the basis of demands by republican governments, we, in setting up the federal government, proceeded from the prerequisite that in a shortest possible time we should provide organizationally for the transition of the management of machine-building, electrical engineering, and the extraction and processing of ores, with the exception of uranium, from the federal level to republican organs. The Federation will therefore have powers only over problems of fuels, energy, metallurgy, communication, and transport. Ecological tasks, of course, because of their global scope, should be coordinated from the federal level, even if the practical provisions for environmental protection are in the jurisidiction of republics.

We shall also embark on amending state control activity, while the final arrangement will be completed as a follow-up to new constitutions. At the same time, we envisage the removal of excessive centralism in the management of the entire state administration, including the management of the security apparatus. The role of the center will be much more fulfilled by republican organs.

The principle of independent budgeting of both republics while the traditional redistribution processes are considerably restricted is a new concept. We accept the principle that the self-management of localities will be the basis of the budget system. We do not want to lightheartedly abandon all the advantages of the unified larger economic unit, for which other states are striving, often with difficulties and painfully.

The federal government will respect the stands of republics' governments and will take them into account in any decisionmaking. We expect a similar partner-like attitude from republics' governments. We are abandoning the undignified practice when republican premiers had to fulfill as deputy federal premiers various resolutions of this body [the Federal Government]. I want to say this to explain the proposed structure of central organs of the Federation, about which Mr. President [Havel] spoke here last week.

Esteemed Deputies! The care for man is the core of the humanistic policy of the state. We know that all political forces in the country before the elections supported the market economy. All of them, too, in one form or another, stressed ideas of social justice and the protection of the weak or those who cannot work. The government believes that the socially and ecologically-oriented market economy must become the focus of its effort, corresponding to the will of our people—as this, after all, corresponds to the character of the social system of the vast majority of civilized countries. Such an understanding of the market economy requires that we overcome beliefs that the state is fully responsible for wages, health, pensions, and the housing of every individual. It is absurd that due to a shortage of opportunities people were forced into training in which they were not interested at all, and those who were interested often were unable to get access to it. Not only housing, but many types of goods and foreign travel used to be allocated in the past. Thus, the natural motivation to work was lost. Knowledge of the fact that he who works better earns more and can live better than others was suppressed. I ask you not to view the emphasis on personal motivation as the government's running away from responsibility. The market economy requires that every citizen be aware of the fact that he himself, first of all, is responsible for his own fate. There will be less means for redistribution from the state level—every redistribution has inherent elements of injustice—but people and society will be the richer for it.

The government will strive for effective and freely chosen employment, for work for all citizens. In the shortest possible time we shall submit to the Federal Assembly a draft law on employment and, in cooperation with the governments of the republics, a system of employment services will be set up which should effectively and actively solve problems in the labor market.

This year the main task will be to deal with the consequences of the reduction of heavy industries, the closing down of loss-making enterprises, and the restriction and abolition of various managerial and administrative organs at all levels, including at the central level. Finally, last week we submitted to the Federal Assembly a proposal for the abolition of six central organs of the Federation. We shall develop retraining programs, creation of jobs useful for society, and motivation for individual enterprising.

I would like to stress from this platform yet again the fact that the government is very interested in creating a true partnership and fruitful relations with trade unions. We cannot imagine our state without consolidated and strong trade unions. For outlining tasks of new social partners, modern labor laws will be drafted. They will give a sufficient scope for the relevant agreements on working and social conditions and will set rules for discussion and solution of disputes. The Labor Code will be a guarantee of requirements and duties of employees and employers generally recognized by the state. It will at the same time consistently respect International Labor Organization agreements by which our state is bound and will take into account the present trends in the European labor legislation.

One of the most difficult tasks in the social sphere will be to correct the past policy on pensions. There will be several measures introduced for this—some of them will be taken soon, others are more long term. Beginning this October, the lowest pensions, which are the only source of income, will be increased so that they correspond to the minimum living cost of pensioners. Beginning on that same date, all pensions awarded before October 1988 will be increased, and this will be done with differentiation according to when they were awarded. This measure will be followed by a system of regular pension adjustments. We want to

ensure in this way that the real value of the pension is preserved. At the same time, the government will propose a fundamental reform of the social security system. Its aim will be to enable citizens to influence by their own efforts various additional insurance systems to be part of the pension system.

The negative consequences of the wholesale devastation of social relations are also reflected in the attitude toward handicapped citizens. This is why the government will ensure effective care for these citizens, both through benefits and services, above all, in home care. The social care in institutions we consider a solution where home care would not provide a dignified life for citizens. The basis for the care of handicapped people we see as an effort to integrate them in the best way possible into society, including creating job opportunities. Creating job oportunities for handicapped people should be motivated above all economically, and this by tax relief to those institutions which employ such workers or place orders with organizations set up for handicapped workers—above all, cooperatives of handicapped people. At the same time we shall strive for the social integration of people with social problems. The government will prepare a new system of child benefits. Their level with be differentiated according to the age of child, as it should correspond to the increasing cost of his upkeep and education. Recently a decision was adopted on the payment of maternity benefits to mothers with children up to three years old. Proceeding from the knowledge that a mother's care is irreplaceable for very small children, the government wants to make it easier for mothers to choose freely between personally caring for her child and a job.

The government proposes to abolish the present surplus method of financing social security services for a system of funds independent of the state budget. We want to create a new system of social security enabling every citizen—freely, responsibly, and thus also in a differentiated way—to take care of himself, his family, his future. The state will, however, guarantee the minimum living conditions for all citizens.

The federal government considers its most urgent immediate task to be the renewal of the harmony between the nature and society. This is, however, a task that will take decades, and it is also a part of all-European and global tasks. This will involve, above all, considerable improvement of the quality of the food chain, rational utilization of natural resources, reduction of emissions of solid liquid and harmful gaseous substances into the environment, and the renewal of the ecological and aesthetic values of the countryside. The ecological aspect will be one of the fundamental criteria of all structural changes in the economy.

In the next few months we shall discuss with local authorities in northwest Bohemia the shutdown of several thermal power stations this year. This means that we shall burn annually several trainloads less of our poor quality brown coal. The government will continue this effort.

The government is preparing changes to the basic legal regulations on care for the environment. We shall support ecological research and development. The state budget will continue to finance the most important ecological projects. The protection and improvement of the environment will not be cheap. The consistent removal of today's violations of ecological norms will unavoidably increase the cost of production and prices. If we are now, precisely now, joining the international treaty on the protection of the ozone layer, we do this with a knowledge that its implementaion will cost us billions of korunas, which will have to come from somewhere. In the past six months, a social consensus was achieved on the fact that protecting the environment is the number one priority. From this, however, proceeds the need to direct resource priority to this.

The government will make the the environment issue the first priority of its foreign policy, because without international ecological cooperation, not only will it be impossible to enter into the European integration, but it will also be impossible to fulfill our goals.

We have halted construction of the Stonava coking plant. During bilateral talks with Hungary, we shall strive to solve the problem of the Gabcikovao water project, which has cost us more than 14 billion korunas. We must reckon with great expenses in connection with the introduction of ecological norms meeting the EC strict standard.

Esteemed Deputies! From recent analyses, the long-term stagnation of our economy and its deepening lagging behind advanced states are apparent. From this alarming fact, the previous Government of National Consensus drew conclusions and laid foundations for an entirely new economic strategy. We have decided to continue in, eleborate on, and to implement it enthusiastically. Our aim is to achieve a radical change in the method of management. The only way toward this goal is the general democratization of society and liberalization of the economy linked with the introduction of the market.

Considerable economic decisionmaking will be transferred from the state to enterprises, which will bear direct property responsibility. The government considers as key economic reform measures the permanent creation of a competitive environment, the liberalization of prices and foreign trade linked with the introduction of internal convertibility of the koruna, the privatization of much of the existing state sector of the economy, and the development of private economy. The federal government by its economic policy will strive as much as possible to limit inflation, unemployment, and foreign debt.

Price liberalization entails the removal of all obstacles to the free setting of prices based on the movement of supply and demand on the market. These obstacles used to be concentrated and still are concentrated above all in the administrative setting of most prices and in the

monopolization of the economy, which has existed for a long time and which was intentionally strengthened.

The previous government has already taken steps toward liberalizing prices. The removal of obvious distortions of retail prices, linked with the removal of many basic foods subsidies, has begun. In a week a measure adopted by the Government of National Consensus amending retail food prices by removing state subsidies will come into force. The new federal government dealt with this measure at its session on 2 July 1990 and concluded that this is an unavoidable step toward the implementation of economic reform.

In relation to diabetics, these measures are too harsh. Because diabetics are vitally dependent on certain types of foodstuffs, the government has decided to adopt measures at its next session for compensatory supplements for diabetics to be increased considerably and backdated payments to be made to them. The government will examine from which sources means can be allocated for this, or if it would be just to give this supplement to all groups regardless.

When the government stresses the necessity of price liberalization, it links this process with the creation of a competitive environment, for which it will strive energetically. It will do this by supporting the private sector, demonopolizing our economy, and by relaxing foreign trade restrictions. By relaxing import and export controls the government will create a truly challenging economic environment for enterprises, and for the first time it will stand consistently on the side of consumers and customers. It will break up the present diktat of home manufacturers. The opening of foreign trade relations is, above all, in the initial period one of the main methods of replacing the collapsing system of supplier- consumer relations.

In order to strengthen competition and to relax foreign trade controls, it will be necessary to remove the present, mostly administrative, regulation of hard currency management. The government will therefore take a fundamental step toward the full convertibility of our koruna and, beginning in 1991, will introduce a system of so-called internal convertibility of the koruna [vnutorna smenitelnost koruny] toward freely convertible currencies. The existing system of hard currency norms will be abolished.

Enterprises will sell their hard currency incomes to banks at market exchange rates and, at the same time, will have the right to buy at these rates convertible currency for their foreign payments. Because of the current hard currency imbalance, in the first stage, above all, certain regulation measures will restrict the demand for convertible currencies and will prevent pressure on the growth of debts. The government will be looking for ways, in the shortest possible time, to make free access to convertible currencies possible for individual citizens as well. The government's policy on utilization of foreign sources will also be an important part of the reform process.

Our trade with the outside world is balanced, we have the reputation of a reliable partner abroad. The overall state of our indebtedness during the first months of this year remains basically unchanged: gross indebtedness is in the range of $7-8 billion.

To realize certain phases of the reform process, it will be necessary to create a safety convertible currency reserve to insure us against possible swings in economic development. Above all, we rely on cooperation with the IMF and the World Bank, which we hope to join this year. On the government level, we also count on obtaining foreign loans from institutions within the EC. We wish to make use of these above all in building up the banking infrastructure, developing the technical equipment of the capital market as an unavoidable element in the transition to the market economy, as well as to fulfill plans for telecommunications, ecology, and so on. At the same time, we expect to make use of foreign loans and foreign investment in enterprises. For this purpose, we will be creating favorable conditions in the CSFR for foreign banks and foreign invetors, and this by means of entering into corresponding inter-governmental agreements, as well as completing vital legislative and systemic measures.

The federal government, in cooperation with the governments of the republics, will in the shortest possible time summarize and check on what has been done to support the development of the private sector. Despite the great effort of the previous government, a number of serious obstacles and uncertainties remain, which must be removed. The activity of businessmen and entrepreneurs is being hampered not only by predjudice, but, above all, by the imperfection of the whole legal, financial, and administrative system. In particular, this concerns issues of taxation, assessing land values, principles of providing loan security, authorization regulations, and so on. We are aware that the authorization of new businesses constantly encounters the most varied obstacles from the old structures. For this reason, the whole administration apparatus, vital for the smooth functioning of private enterprise, must be completed and provided with modern facilities very quickly.

We have arrived at a consensus on the need for denationalization and subsequent privatization of a significant part of the state sector. This second main direction of developing the private sector is, however, just beginning. While the development of newly founded private businesses can follow a route familiar to the world, the process of privatization is considerably more complicated. The transfer of state enterprises to the private sector is generally exceptional in its extent and urgency. If chaos and national economic losses are to be avoided, it must be consistently regulated. The starting point for privatization will be the transfer of a considerable part of state enterpriss to share-holding companies [ucastinne spolocnosti]. We expect in the second half of 1990 the creation of many such share-holding companies. The

interest of share-holders will be a positive factor, which will contribute to the overall improvement of the economy.

The main risk on the path of transition to a market economy is the danger of inflation. The government announces that it will pursue a consistent and strict anti-inflationary policy and will regulate the flow of money into the economy. Therefore it will continue to limit subsidies to the enterprise sector. Subsidies for inefficient production will be very markedly reduced.

At the same time, beginning next year, a new system of subsidies for agriculture, aimed primarily at supporting the breakup of some large state agricultural enterprises, and possibly privatization, will come into force. At the same time we link the restrictive anti-inflationary policy with support for selected entrepreneurial activity, in particular where the growth of efficient export and publicly beneficial services are concerned. The government expects that concurrently with a strict budget policy, the Czechoslovak State Bank will also implement an anti-inflationary monetary policy. The market economy will demand the perfecting of the banking system and the creation of a functioning monetary and capital market. The banks must provide attractive possibilities for saving and financial investment, loans for the most effective plans and other financial services which are common in the world, for families and businessmen. Permitting the activity of new home and foreign banks will serve to strengthen competition in banking. Their creation and operation must be subordinate, however, to the strict supervision of the central bank in the interest of securing the stability of the banking system and protecting savers.

Part of the transition to a market economy is the gradual liberalization of wages, the removal of the centrally directed norms and limits on the development of wages in the production sector. In the interest of all citizens, however, for the moment the government does not wish to give up the anti-inflationary policy in this area. The government will prepare a fundamental wage reform. The setting of wages will be based on collective tripartite talks between the government, the trade unions and the employers. The systems of tariff wages set in wage agreements will be simple and it will be possible to flexibly adjust them to the conditions of management. A minimum wage dependent on the minimum required for living will be guaranteed, regardless of the type of work being carried out and the economic results.

The government is faced with the pressing task of undertaking a tax reform and a reform of budget management which will create generally new relations between the individual parts of our budget system. The strategic goal is the gradual reduction of the tax burden and the limiting of the division of the national income by means of the state budget. Already in 1991 we expect a reduction in the tax burden on enterprises and, at the same time, a considerable unification in the way they are taxed. Part of the tax reform is the unification and simplification of enterprise tax, tax paid by the inhabitants, and turnover tax.

We will be implementing stricter sanctions against polluters of the environment. This will become the source of special funds, which will be used to support measures for the creation and protection of the environment. The government has adopted or prepared a number of measures for the implementation of these intentions.

As from 1 July, in order to support the private sector, the purchase of selected types of raw material, material and means of production is made possible for private farmers for the price excluding turnover tax. Already in this year, the government will propose to the Federal Assembly a new law on income tax which will make easier, with regard to tax, the development of individual activities and private enterprise, and, at the same time, it will be the first step toward future universal income tax. We shall also put forward a bill on road tax which will react to the changes in this area abroad and will create pressure in particular on limiting transit truck transport, which will be useful also from an ecological point of view.

A new amendment to local taxes will be proposed which will aim at reinforcing the income coming into the budget of villages and towns and also at ecological issues. At the same time an amendment of the provision about house tax will be put forward with the aim of removing obstacles to the progress of private enterprise.

With the aim of stimulating overall entrepreneurial activity and creating a comprehensive atmosphere for commercial organizations, from 1991 the so-called surcharge turnover tax will be abolished, and, as a result, the prices of direct supplies from producer to consumer will be reduced.

With regard to duty payment and taxes of organizations, in the same period a key step toward their unification will be made. We envisage that a profit tax will be 55 percent, independent of the form of ownership.

For carrying out an overall tax reform, bills on income tax, on value-added tax and consumption taxes, and enterprise and corporation income tax will be put forward to the Federal Assembly.

The proposed tax construction, which envisages the possibility of local surcharges, will create conditions for increasing the budget income of towns and villages and a clear arrangement of overall tax relations. The tax on fixed assets will be amended, in particular land tax, and various duty payments to the state will be amended, too.

The government will prepare new budget provisions which will lead to the reform of the entire budget management and budget system. The new arrangement of the relations between individual budgets will lead to a significant shift of authority and accountability for budget management toward the bodies of self-administration on one hand, and also to a significant

reinforcement of the role of state budgets in security macro-economic regulation and unified financial policy on the other hand.

The federal government believes that the federal budget must have its own resources. This differs from the views which have been put forward so far by the republics: that the federal budget will be created by a shift from the budgets of the republics. As this is a matter of extraordinary importance, it will be necessary that all three governments and all three legislative bodies show enough goodwill to adopt rational solutions fitting the needs of our times.

The government will adopt measures toward making the economy stable in the second half of this year, with the aim of maintaining sufficient output during the implementation of the approved reform steps.

At present the directive plan is already ceasing to operate and the systemic changes of the economic reforms have not yet been achieved. Thus a certain vacuum in management has occurred, which we are tackling operatively by adopting specific measures, especially in the area of streamlining the investment process, regulating wage trends, providing essential imports for manufacturing enterprises at the outset of the manufacturing cycle, tourism, and supplies of goods to the home market.

The government proceeds from the premise that the state will support, by way of its economic policy, inevitable system changes as well as secure directly activities and services beneficial to the public. At the same time, however, it has an indispensable role to play in its general encouragement of structural changes in the specific industrial, transport, communication, power, agricultural and raw material policies.

We shall comprehensively support the curbing of heavy industry, the reduction of energy- and raw material-intensiveness of the production sector and the reinforcement of the tertiary sector. We shall equally support the renewal of economic growth and business activity, of course on the basis of the gradually improving system of prices and other microeconomic criteria.

The government regards the development of foreign tourism as one of the key programs. This is why we shall take, in cooperation with the republican governments, all essential measures to stimulate and secure this intention.

In the period immediately ahead, the federal government counts in its structural policy on a number of specific steps in the areas falling within its sphere of jurisdiction. Among them one can cite above all the closing of selected brown coal mines and the already mentioned blocks of thermal power plants, even at the price of a certain reduction of the economic growth. At the same time we will begin to restructure our fuel and energy sources; set about remedying the situation in the construction of nuclear power plants, including the assessment of the extent of this construction and the questions of nuclear safety; and will submit a selective program for the development of our metallurgy.

The government must devote marked attention to the accelerated completion of building and modernizing a comprehensively understood telecommunication network and postal service. In this it will also make use of the assistance of foreign communication organizations and firms. We realize that on this basis it will also be possible to satisfy gradually a broad spectrum of needs, which arise from the process of keeping our society comprehensively informed.

We will support the development of transport infrastructure and its integration within the European system. We will facilitate individual enterprise in transport, giving priority at the same time to the development of ecologically and energy-advantageous kinds of transport. We reckon with such steps like the speedy construction of a highway from Prague to Rozvadov via Plzen, linking the highway with the network of Austrian and Hungarian roads in the area of Bratislava, and, if resources remain, also with a further extension of highway sections, especially if they tackle large ecologicals loads in towns. We are equally resolved to continue with the construction of the passenger and freight facilities at the Prague-Ruzyne airport and to increase gradually the speed and standard of rail services.

The government is conscious of the fact that one condition of the successful development of our economy is a substantially greater opening of the market to our exports by industrially advanced states. In this regard, we count on the active support of these countries. We are convinced that the creation of the German monetary, economic, and social union will not harm our economic cooperation and trade with the GDR or, in the long term, with the politically unified Germany.

In the CEMA, the federal government will continue to push strenuously for a profound reform of this organization. It should be transformed as soon as possible into a modern open international organization operating on market principles and assisting the economic development of member states and their integration into world and, in particular, European economic relations.

The cooperation of the CSFR with the CEMA member states will be switched from 1991 to market principles and adapted to conditions customary in the world economy. Fundamental changes will take place primarily in the price, currency, financial, and accounting system, which will be (?reflected) in the structure of mutual exchange of goods. The concept of cooperation between the CSFR and the CEMA member states and Yugoslavia proceeds from the principle of application of prevailing world prices and agreement on payments in convertible currencies.

The transition to market relations with these states, and in particular with the Soviet Union, carries with it serious risks for the sale of our output and for domestic inflation. Coping effectively with these risks, and above

all at the enterprise level, is necessary for our overall economic stability. At the same time, the Soviet Union's share in our foreign trade account for approximately one-third of its volume and provides most of our basic raw material and energy resources. We continue to see in the Soviet Union our most important trade partner. We have no intention of abandoning the Soviet market. On the contrary, by making use of the knowledtge of this market, and in a link-up with world manufacturers, we want to seek new opportunities for mutually advantageous cooperation in it. This also applies to the People's Republic of China, which is an exceptionally important economic partner.

All the aforementioned principles governing the transition to a market economy proceed from the knowledge that our economy is presently exposed from all quarters to exceptional and frequently dramatic external changes. The internal economic situation, too, is complicated and increasingly complex. In these circumstances, there is no time for hesitation, but it is necessary to speed up the reform.

We do not hide the fact that our reform strategy not only opens up entirely new opportunities for people, but it will also have painful social and human consequences. The government wants the maximum number of opportunities—for them to be transferred to the whole society—and for the unpleasant social and individual impact not to be unnecessarily great and to last the shortest time possible.

We shall strive to do what we consider to be our duty, to lay firm foundations for the renewal of our economic potential, a rational and purposeful attitude and responsibility in human behavior, and to join in modern world development.

In this way we envisage a permanent growth of the standard of living, real social certainties, a comprehensively good quality of life and happiness.

Esteemed deputies! The human rights issues will be the focus of attention for the federal government. I want to assure you that we shall strive to perfect the legal character of our state and to perfect the legislative provisions of civil and political rights for all individuals and groups, regardless of their nationality or social origins, race, religion, sex, language or political views. From the initiative of members of this representative body, a legal measure of the Federal Assembly Presidium was adopted concerning the property of political parties, political movements and social organizations. As a sequel to this measure, all three People's Control Committees are carrying out checks on the property of political parties and social organizations which in the past received grants from the state budget. We envisage that as a follow-up to the results of the checks which will be submitted to the Federal Assembly, members of this legislative body will decide on further action.

We are convinced that the effort to fulfill all human rights and to strengthen man's dignity cannot ever stop. We will continue to assert the rights of and protection for children, young people, women and families. We will systematically help ill and handicapped people, old people, and all those who need it. We will struggle against every form of violence, which also includes the violation of relations among people, illegal enrichment and gaining of advantages, corruption, devastation of nature and harassment of people.

The freedom which has been won has brought new possibilities for our citizens but it has, however, shown us many drawbacks. We want a freedom for the individual which does not threaten the freedom of others. We are convinced that not even politics and economy, science and technology, nor culture and art can explain and make provision for everything. If the moral state of our society does not change we will not emerge from the crisis in which we now find ourselves.

The federal government will continue to improve relations between the state and churches. This year the government will propose legislative protection for the rights of believers, religious organizations and churches, and an amendment to property relations.

The government has already proposed that the Federal Assembly right the lawless liquidation of monastic orders in 1950, and will continue to support, above all, their social, charitable and pedagogic activities. However, we are appealing to all religious denominations, but also nationalities and ethnic groups living in our country, for better mutual tolerance. The government will pay attention to strengthening families and the position of women in our society. Our efforts will be aimed, above all, at doing away with discrimination, creating equality between women and men in all spheres of life and harmonizing maternal duties with the social fulfilment of women. It is part of our policy to constantly develop health care, education and culture.

Investment in these spheres represent an irreplaceable economic investment for the future. That is why the federal government will also help in this sphere the governments of the republics which are responsible for the spheres of health care, education and culture. The government is aware of the fact that health care belongs to those spheres which the people are most concerned about. However, it will take many years before it will be possible to create an advanced system of health care. We are facing a complicated period of transition to a system based on the principles of demonopolization, economic management and internal democratization of health care.

At the same time, the federal government will support the efforts of the republican governments to anchor the new position of culture in legal norms. These must be not only guarantees of creative freedom, but they will also create a new system of economically safeguarding culture. People's education must not only be aimed at a professional training. Despite differences in world outlook, it must be aimed at mutual tolerance, humanity, must lead toward a feeling of responsibility for the fate of

our peoples and nationalities, for the relationship between the republics, the federation and our mutual European region.

We will fully support intensive scientific-research activity at universities, the development of cooperation with academic and other research institutes, including creating conditions for international cooperation and expanding the possibilities of study abroad. We are aware of the fact that uniting scientific and pedagogic activity is a decisive factor for success in university institutes. The federal government will work out a concept of state policy in the sphere of science and technology and will adopt actual measures for its implementation.

We will prepare, as soon as possible, a draft bill on science and a draft bill on the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. We will anchor in them the main roles of science and technology in conditions of a democratic society and a market economy. The new amendments envisage setting up an independent fund which will be an actual state instrument of direct support for scientific-technical development. However, we are aware of the fact that only a demanding economic environment can guarantee that research activity will not degenerate into discovering what has been known for a long time. Science, therefore, must free itself as fast as possible from inefficient organizational structures, more openings must be given to talented and enterprising employees, and generous international cooperation, must be aimed, above all, at all scientific spheres in which we have a chance to achieve a world standard.

We want to formulate clearly our attitude toward the mass communication media and their role in modern society. It is not enough to restrict oneself to the mere observation that any form of censorship is unacceptable. Free and independent dissemination of information is one of the conditions of the functioning of a modern democratic state, in which the right to have access to information ranks among the fundamental rights of citizens. Corresponding to this right is also the duty to provide information to citizens which is timely, truthful, and complete.

It is, however, the value and dignity of man, respect for his rights, which forms the basis of democracy. We will therefore encourage social pressure to raise the ethics of journalistic work. We will submit to the Federal Assembly the draft of a new legislative modification of the position of the communication media. We regard as inadmissible any kind of power management of them, and for this reason the government will take care to ensure that its relations with the communications media are developed on the principles of partnership.

The relations between the state and the communication media will be regulated exclusively by way of the Constitution and the relevant laws. Legislatively anchored autonomy of the communications media should also define the limits of their operations. As such a limit we understand above all respect for man, humanist and cultural values, state symbols, and constitutional and democratic institutions. We also believe that it will be necessary to respect elementary principles of morality, especially in relation to the younger generation, women, and children. We are against imposing unnecessary regulations on the communication media. By using appropriate instruments we intend, however, to prevent, for instance, such a commercialization of pornography, propagation of violence, national, racial and religious intolerance.

The government will respect differences in the roles played by state and nongovernmental communication media. The state will retain the monopoly of the administration of radio and television frequencies, which are the national property. Frequencies and programs will only be leased to applicants for broadcasting licence on the basis of a competitive procedure and after careful consideration, a possible government consent is not being excluded. The state will preserve control over the extent, range and character of the programs of nongovernmental broadcasting through the form of licences.

We regard it as necessary to preserve state broadcasting by radio and television because this involves an important democratic instrument for implementing the information requirements of the state and society, and constitutes a distinctive factor of national culture. At the same time it is essential that the needs of the federation and the needs of the republics are clarified in this respect. The federation, with its indispensable roles which this policy statement has mentioned, must have at its disposal such powerful communication media as radio and television. The federal government will at the same time strive to create technological and economic conditions to ensure that national programs of both republics could be broadcast throughout the entire territory of the state. It is also necessary to realize that a dilution of the organizations of radio and television reduces opportunities in international competition, which is enormous in this area.

This has been realized most clearly so far by the CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS AGENCY, which wants, above all for economic reasons, to continue to act as a press agency operating throughout the state.

Ladies and gentlemen, the state's security policy will respect and protect human rights. In the interests of protecting citizens, all sections of the State Security Service have been abolished, as have some sections of the units of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. At the same time the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy is being formed. The reorganization, including a fundamental personnel purge, will be completed in July this year.

According to the draft bills that you have received, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy will operate outside the framework of the Federal Ministry of the Interior, and its director will be responsible for the discharging of his office to the Federal Assembly.

A new model for the operation of the intelligence service will be created during the current year. New bills on the sector under the Federal Ministry of the Interior will be prepared by the end of the current year in such a way as to guarantee its legal supervision.

Freedom of travel and new international agreements entered into by our state will call for an accelerated reorganization of the passport service, which will gradually be equipped with modern technology.

The concept of the government's security policy envisages that the Border Guards will ensure the protection of the state borders up to the end of 1992, and will then be replaced by a professional border police.

The government, apart from completing the screening in the sector under the Federal Ministry of the Interior, will be ensuring the stabilization of the personnel of the National Security Corps and the complementation of their numbers.

Ensuring public order, personal and property security for citizens, will require in the period to come a far more active fight against crime. Specialized teams will quickly be formed for the fight against organized and professional crime and an Interpol office will be set up to assist in the fight against international crime. The federal government expects that the republican governments, representative bodies, and the public will support our police because otherwise it will be impossible to fight the current crime wave.

The Czechoslovak Army, too, represents one of the important stabilizing factors in the democratic development of our society. It is being tansformed into an army of a sovereign state with national features and a nonparty command corps. A new military doctrine will be debated in the fall which will lay down the main principles of the political orientation of the structure of the armed forces. We want to continue democratizing the internal life of the Army and humanizing compulsory basic military service. Fundamental organizational and redeployment changes will create prerequisites for a marked reduction of the number of personnel and equipment. The implementation of the requirements of the new defense doctrine will link the present maintenance of general military service duty to the gradual transition to the proffesionalization of the Army. This intention calls also for the drafting of a new social program, which will create reliable social guarantees for military personnel. We want our Army to be less numerous and less costly, but nonetheless to possess modern equipment and be capable of ensuring the country's security in line with the creation of the European security structure.

To secure for the republic favorable and peaceful international conditions is the task of our foreign policy. For this reason the government will work actively for the creation of a common European standard of human rights, and joint legal, economic and security spheres. We will work out in more precise terms our joint initiative with the Polish Republic and the GDR on institutionalizing the Helsinki process, and we will have talks with the participating states so as to achieve progress as soon as possible. We are ready to accept the CSCE Secetariat or any other Helsinki institution in Prague.

The federal government's endeavor to create a system of European- wide security includes the idea of a balance of forces at the lowest possible level. We intend to stay in the Warsaw Pact provided that its internal political and military reorganization, which the CSFR initiated, will be carried through. We perceive the Warsaw Pact as a temporary body whose role is cooperation between independent and sovereign states at disarmament talks and in the transition from understanding security in terms of blocs to a new pluralistic, democratic, European-wide security. According to the rotation principle, the CSFR is at present the coordinator of Warsaw Pact activity. We shall make use of the role entrusted to us to ensure that the transition of the Warsaw Pact is completed by November this year, in accordance with the Political and Consultative Committee agreement reached at the beginning of June 1990. This will enable us at the CSCE summit meeting, probably in Paris in December this year, to act as a state whose Army is subordinated solely to the country's own command.

We want the unification of Germany to be used to speed up European integration. At the same time we do not exclude the possibility of integrating a unified Germany within NATO. We regard it as essential, however, that the inviolability of the western Polish border on the Oder and Neisse be guaranteed.

In the spirit of the government's intention to join in the Europoean integration processes, we shall strive to be admitted as a regular member of the Council of Europe. The condition for this entry into the club of European democracies is the signing of the European Human Rights Convention. Following the agreement on trade, trade and economic cooperation with European communities which we have already signed, we shall engage in talks on concluding a treaty on CSFR association with the 12 West European countries.

The adaption of our laws, norms, and standards to their equivalents in the European communities is an essential prerequisite for the dynamic development of our economy.

We have established cooperation with a group of 24 most powerful Western countries, which provide aid to Central and East Europe. As an equal member we will share in the activity of the new European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and we will join, as I have already said, the IMF and the World Bank.

We will make use of the declaration we have signed with the European Free Trade Association for the development of mutually advantageous economic relations with its six members.

We have joined actively in the work of the pentagonal grouping formed by Italy, Austria, Hungary, Yugoslavia and the CSFR. We will shape in a new way our policy

toward the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Development aid can only be effective if we respect differences existing among various countries, if we have something to offer and establish mutually advantageous relations.

We want the republican governments, too, to share in the shaping of the country's foreign policy. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs will widen its operations in Bratislava. In cooperation with Slovak republican bodies, this office will concern itself, apart from consular, protocol, press, scientific, research and other tasks, with the selection and training of the future service staff.

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs will continue to strive to secure the opening of new foreign consulates, cultural centers and missions in Bratislava.

Our concept of foreign service is that it is a service that is highly specialized and civilian. Diplomats will be selected on the basis of a strict competitive procedure conducted before an independent commission composed of experienced diplomats and scientists. This is the only way to improve the quality of the diplomatic service and to exclude external political and personal pressures in the selection of staff for the state's foreign service.

Esteemed Deputies, we are assuming our mandates at a time at which we will not avoid decisions which will more than once have undesirable side-effects. We all want prosperity and democracy for our people. However, we do not always see the same road toward this goal, the same speed or the sequence of steps that it is necessary to take. The federal government is submitting to you its policy statement. As an appendix to it you will also receive a timetable of fundamental steps which the federal government wants to carry out in implementing it. The outline of the government's submitted draft bills cannot be regarded as the final and exhaustive plan of legislative work. It is possible that some of the bills mentioned will be amalgamated with others, or as the case may be, dropped, and, on the contrary, if the situation warrants it, draft bills will be submitted which we do not as yet envisasge at present.

The fact is that we are submitting a program in which not every hill or bend on the road envisaged has been charted, because no one was able to go along this route before us and chart on the map all the risks involved. I would, however, like to assure you that we shall consult on our course of action in advance with the citizens of this country. We are ready to listen to every justifiable criticism, correct our plans and remedy mistakes.

We know that an improvement in cooperation with the Federal Assembly is a vital condition of success. In close cooperation we will prepare new laws to define the scope for economic, social, and political life. We will discuss in advance key steps in the field of economic reform in the Federal Assembly Committees. We will welcome every idea that will underscore even more the constructive character of our mutual relations. We will conduct a dialogue also with political forces which do not have their own representation in the government. We will be interested in the views of the political parties and movements which do not have their own representatives in the Federal Assembly. We cannot imagine how to forestall conflicts without ensuring a consensus or compromise between the government, trade unions, and businessmen. I would be glad if, at the outset of this complicated road, we could feel the awareness that we are mutually linked together by our destiny. We will all be living in this country and rearing our offspring.

We share jointly in both successes and defeats. Ahead of us is an important turning point in the history of our nations. Thus, we do not promise castles in the air, but neither do we promise only sweat and tears; neither do we assert with self-assurance that we will always success in leading the country without mistakes through the minefield of possible risks. Despite this I am convinced that we look optimistically into the future, that the economic, social and political problems that are inevitably ahead of us along this road are temporary. The noble goal in the form of a dignified life for the free people of this country is worth making certain sacrifices for, and it demands an exceptional working effort by all of us.

The federal government promises that it will do everything to ensure that the pledges voiced in this policy statement are fulfilled and asks the Federal Assembly, in the spirit of Article 69 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, to give it a vote of confidence. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Federal Assembly Committees in Session

LD0407101490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] Committees of both chambers are in session today in the Federal Assembly. Lubos Lidicky reports on their deliberations:

[Lidicky] All committees—the Social and Cultural, the Economic, the Constitutional Legal, the Planning and Budget, the Defense and Security, the Mandate and Immunity, and the Environmental one—are in session. Because of the importance of the material—and no doubt the policy statement is very important—under discussion, individual ministers are present.

I have attended the session of the Social and Cultural Committee, where Petr Miller, minister for labor and social affairs, has found himself showered with questions. Although his opening speech clarified some details and added to yesterday's speech by Premier Calfa, deputies raised questions which got under our skin, as the saying goes; for example, what is understood by the law on benefit for parents, what will it be linked to, how does the government intend to compensate diabetics by supplements for price increases of foodstuffs—that is, special diabetic foodstuffs—and how does the government intend to change the labor code in harmony with the transfer to the market economy?

From specific replies to other questions, in brief only: a minimum wage will be set, administrative jobs in management and in large state enterprises will be cut, wage development will be ensured in education, health care, and culture, so that it is in proportion to that in the enterprising sphere.

From these first reactions to the policy statement of the federal government in one committee it is obvious that the defense of the program which the government has put forward will be far from an easy matter. There are two days allocated for the committees' debates and the same amount of time is allocated for the debate at the joint session of the chambers.

Federal Assembly Proceedings Outlined

LD0407154490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] We are, first of all, switching over to the Federal Assembly building in Prague, where our correspondent Lubos Lidicky is ready to report on this morning's deliberation in deputies' committees of both chambers of the parliament.

[Lidicky] Although it was expected that the debate on the government policy statement would be a tough nut to crack, not many of the federal government's ministers, who are present in committees, expected that deputies would have an even tougher nut-cracker to get to the core of the matter—the individual chapters of the policy statement. For example: In the social and cultural committee, deputies were interested in how much progress has been made in preparations for making the new labor code correspond to the market economy. What will happen to those workers in those mines which will be closed, or where the mining of coal and uranium ore will be reduced? What will be the payment for unemployed people? At what level will the minimum wage be set?

In reply to a question concerning the right to strike, Minister Petr Miller answered that the government would like to restrict the possibility of strikes, not by banning them, but by talking to trade unions. For this, fundamental material is being prepared by the government, which should outline the method of cooperation with trade unions in drafting and implementing the economic reform.

In the committee for the environment, deputies from North Bohemia and Silesia were active above all. The reason is obvious: the reduction of electrical power generating, the closure of some power plants, and the reduction in mining of coal and uranium ore. The problem of the Krusne Hory mountain range was discussed, as well as crude oil processing, the purity of water, and in this connection the bill on the protection of waters, which is being prepared. Slovak deputies are striving to stop the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water project construction. Deputies from agricultural regions complained about the procurement prices of agricultural products and demanded an explanation of the task of the hygiene service.

The afternoon session of committees will take place without ministers because the entire government has been invited to the U.S. Embassy on the occasion of the state holiday. So this was a look at two of the committees, and there are already more than enough problems for the new government to solve. This also shows that deputies of our highest legislative body are not indifferent to the future of this country.

Havel Discusses Current Issues at Assembly

LD0407205790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Today at the Federal Assembly, Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, attended deliberations of Civic Forum deputies, at which the majority of Public Against Violence [VPN] deputies were also present. He thanked them for the vote of confidence given to him by the deputies of these two political movements by again nominating him for the post of president of the republic.

He later went on to answer their questions for almost an hour. He described the preparation of three constitutions—the federal one and two of the republics—as the most important task of the next two-year period. Asked if he is going to declare an amnesty if he is reelected, he said that the lawyers with whom he discussed the problem advised against it.

Vaclav Havel went on to express himself in favor of the majority system for the forthcoming communal elections, which will stress the impact of personalities. He also explained to the deputies his intention to build a part of the presidential office in Bratislava as well as to build a new department of the office of the president of the republic, which will be in charge of relations between this office and the Federal Assembly.

At today's meeting with the deputies of the Civic Forum and the VPN at the Federal Assembly, Vaclav Havel also gave his views on the relationship between state and church. As he put it, the two should be separate.

Finance Minister Klaus on Inflation, Reform

LD0407153190 Prague CTK in English 1201 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of Finance Vaclav Klaus today answered questions of members of committees for plan and budget of the parliament's chambers, which, similarly as other committees, discussed the government program statement at their second joint meetings here today.

Asked about the danger of inflation, Vaclav Klaus said that on January 1, 1991 a large pack of important reform measures will accumulate, coinciding with a decay of the

present mechanism of the functioning of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). As regards the consequences the minister compared the decay to the well-known "oil shock" in the 1970s. The impacts of these two realities will require a careful analysis without which the public would remain completely disorientated. He added that this coincidence is unfortunate and that it is caused by the government's hesitation in the past six months.

Answering a question of a Communist Party deputy who compared Czechoslovakia's economic situation to that of Poland, Vaclav Klaus said that this comparison is misleading as Poland's debts amount to about 40,000 million dollars and its economy is totally decayed from the past. Such an economic imbalance does not exist in Czechoslovakia and "our task now is not to allow the Czechoslovak economic situation to gain such a form when Poland started is radical reform", the minister emphasized.

He voiced the conviction that Czechoslovakia cannot have as its short-term target to revive and expand the production at all costs. He also rejected the fears of several deputies from the danger of unemployment in the nearest future.

Vaclav Klaus admitted that the relation between the federal and republic's budgets is a serious problem. He pointed out that the national governments practically require the disintegration of federation as without an economic centre and autonomy of incomes into all the three budgets a united economy cannot exist.

Control Experiments for Verifying CW Ban

LD0407204890 Prague CTK in English 1732 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—Control experiments to verify the reliability of inspections on call were carried out in Czechoslovakia on July 3 and 4, within the framework of preparations for adopting a package of measures of a convention on a general and complete ban on chemical weapons.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry said in its statement today that the experiments were conducted in the East Bohemian chemical plant in Pardubice and at a Czechoslovak Army installation in East Bohemia. Esperts from the ministries of defence, foreign affairs and the chemical industry confirmed that this form of control is feasible and effective.

The statement stressed that Czechoslovakia does not own or poroduce chemical weapons and has no such weapons on its territory.

Czechoslovakia will shortly inform of the results of the experiment other countries at the Geneva disarmament conference with the aim to contribute towards a speedy finalization of the provisions of the draft convention.

Diplomat Dependents To Be Evacuated From Tirana

LD0407112190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpts] World press agencies report on the complex and tense situation in the Albanian capital of Tirana. Several hundred Albanian citizens are being sheltered in the diplomatic missions of several countries, including Czechoslovakia. The exact number is not known. There is a lack of information coming out of the country. Telephone links with Tirana are not working. We are therefore compiling a picture from information supplied by world press agencies and world television stations. [passage omitted]

At our embassy in Tirana there are about 17 persons. Last night a special plane left Prague for Tirana with a cargo of foodstuffs for Czechoslovak citizens who are working in the Albanian capital in our diplomatic mission. On the return flight, the plane will have on board our diplomats' spouses [and] children. It is possible that the spouses and children of our diplomatic missions' staff in Poland and the GDR will travel with them.

According to information that I managed to get this morning from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, our plane should return today. After it arrives, the information should be somewhat more specific. The next move by Czechoslovak authorities will be decided accordingly. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs plans to issue a statement on the situation in our embassy in Tirana. We do not know at this point when it will be issued. I can only tell you that we will inform you as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

One can only speculate what the situation in Albania will be like. But let me remind you that last year, at the end of the summer, when thousands of East Germans took refuge in the FRG Embassies in Prague and Warsaw, Erich Honecker's days were numbered. Democratic changes will not elude Albania and they will not be prevented even by hundreds of policemen who, according to some reports, are in charge in the center of Tirana.

Conference of Soviet 'Dissidents' Opens

LD0407194490 Prague CTK in English 1407 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Prague July 4 (CTK)—A three-day conference, attended by several dozen dissidents from the Soviet Union and delegates from other countries, to discuss problems of independent democratic movements in totalitarian systems, started here today.

President Vaclav Havel and U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Shirley Temple-Black attended the conference as guests.

The conference will deal with possibilities of transition of the individual countries towards democracy, economic aspects of reforms and ways in which the West can help opposition movements. On Friday Czechoslovakia and other East European countries will be discussed.

Representatives of the Democracy and Independence Organization (founded in may 1989 in Paris) adopted in Prague today a "Prague Appeal" stating that 72 years of communism in the USSR led to a deep political and economic crisis and the main obstacles to prosperity were the present communist party and state structures.

Representatives of national movements in the coordinating centre of democracy and independence (of Armenia, Georgia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldavia, the Russian Federation, the Ukraine, Soviet Jews and Crimean Tartars), who attend here a three-day conference of dissidents, stated in the appeal that Mikhail Gorbachev and his colleagues lead the country towards civil war, consciously or unconsciously. They condemned Moscow's approach to nationality movements and efforts at independence, stressing that the only solution to ethnic problems was the immediate dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The appeal also said that transition to market economy can be carried out only by a government trusted by the people.

The appeal called on the public and governments of the whole world to stop supporting Gorbachev's perestroyka as financial aid will only prolong the suffering of ordinary people. The appeal described the fact that Western democracies are "on the wrong side of the conflict" as a misunderstanding.

President Vaclav Havel, who attended the conference as a guest, told the participants that "We who today hold high state posts in our country have once also been dissidents...and naturally have deep understanding for your struggle." He said there was something symbolic in that the conference is held in Czechoslovakia.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *Reportage on German unification may also be found in the Federal Republic of Germany section of the West Europe DAILY REPORT and pertinent sections of the East Europe JPRS Report. Third country comment is published as available in the appropriate DAILY REPORT or JPRS publication.*

De Maiziere Views Economic Union, Unification

LD0307114990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0650 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere by Budapest Radio correspondent Ivan Bedoe in Berlin on 1 July—passages within quotation marks are recorded; De Maiziere recorded in German with superimposed translation into Hungarian]

[Text] [Bedoe] In the building of the GDR Council of Ministers on Sunday [1 July], journalists were received with Milka chocolates, Jacobs coffee, and other West German delicacies, as if to indicate that into this building as well, in a tangible form, the economic, currency, and social union has arrived.

In the midst of the great media upheaval, Lothar de Maiziere, the Christian Democratic prime minister of the GDR, found it important to give a special interview to three East European reporters, those from the Polish INTERPRESS Agency, TASS, and Magyar Radio. This we could interpret as a gesture, since, as it became apparent from the conversation, the prime minister continues to regard relations with these countries as important.

[De Maiziere] "The position from now on is that GDR citizens will have convertible currency in their hands, while the situation is by no means the same with our East European neighbors. In addition, in our case we are talking about a currency which is among the most stable in the world. At the time of the economic union, we also unified the regulations and legal provisions, so the entrepreneurs can invest according to rules coordinated with the Common Market ones. I think however much the West German and West European manufacturers are willing to help the East European people, it is very probable that this will materialize most in our country. This we regard as an all-German task. For us the chance is at the same time an obligation.

"I have emphasized several times that we must preserve, indeed develop further those relations which were formed during the difficult times. We must regard this valuably. In addition, 35 percent of our employees are making a living out of East European exports. At the discussions on the interstate contract we considered it extremely important that these factories continue to receive state support. Looking at it with Western eyes, this is in fact an impossible position, because subsidies distort the competitive situation. Still, for the time being we must subsidize this production to be able to maintain our traditional commercial links."

[Bedoe] Lothar de Maiziere sees further possibilities not only in the economy but also in the movement of people. When I asked what is happening since the controls ceased at the inter-Germany borders—but the visa regulations of the two Germany's have not yet been coordinated, his reply was as follows.

[De Maiziere] "The currency union does not immediately create a united country from the two German states. The different rules can remain for the time being, but in the course of German unification we will be unifying the regulations in this respect as well. Let me reply in general terms. In present-day Europe, the dominant trend is opening borders rather than closing them."

[Bedoe] Tourism is one thing, but it is a different matter now with the extension of the DM [Deutsche mark] empire. The GDR has become more attractive and is alredy beginning to have refugee problems. In this respect the prime minister predicted greater stringency.

[De Maiziere] "I hope that in the case of visitors, we will be able to continue not requesting visas. The case of those, however, who wish to settle will be reexamined in a legally ordered manner."

[Bedoe] The main topic of the discussion, was naturally, the first day of the DM in the GDR, and what can be expected from now on. The prime minister was satisfied with the currency changeover.

[De Maiziere] "We have organized everything with almost military precision and, after all, this is the biggest currency transaction in Central Europe in the past 40-50 years. I think it is a great success that everything is going smoothly. People are going to the banks calmly, perhaps with a little happiness and pride, too.

"Second, I consider it important and I am proud that my fellow countrymen have drawn out less money than was expected. Therefore we do not have to deal with a great shopping craze, inflation will not occur, and this indicates a sensible economic mentality.

"Third, most people see clearly that this is an irreversible step toward the unity of Germany. People also have to realize that the FRG, by putting the Deutsche mark at our disposal, have also linked their own prosperity to the prosperity of those living in the GDR. With this the FRG practically guarantees that the GDR economy can recover all right, and social tensions will also be avoidable."

[Bedoe] In the not so distant future, one can imagine that since wages here are lower, strikes or repeated emmigration will occur.

[De Maiziere] "According to surveys carried out in the FRG, if the wage difference is not worse than 100 to 60 then people would rather stay put. The difference at the

moment is about 100 to 40. This is still too much, but I think that by increasing productivity, wages will also increase. I believe that productivity will increase rapidly within a short period of time. If all I think about is the fact that workers just sat around in our factories half the time because there were no raw materials, then great changes can be expected here soon."

[Bedoe] One of the most difficult economic tasks in the GDR is the privatization of major state industries. I also asked the prime minister about this.

[De Maiziere] "I think this will also be accelerated. Last Thursday [28 June] in Bonn I had discussions with banking representatives and I mentioned that our impression is that cooperation was established quicker in the case of smaller companies than in major industries. The president of the Industrial and Commercial Council replied that the pregnancy of elephants last longer than that of the rabbits, but many plans are already on the way to realization. The Krupp Steel Works for example is going to participate in Eisenhuettenstadt. The takeover negotiations are shaping up favorably for the large GDR chemical company BUNA. Considering the state of the machinery there and the poor economic position of the company, this does indeed require a measure of daring in enterprise. So, altogether I am optimistic.

"At the same time there will be enterprises which will have to be split up because we achieve nothing by transforming a state monopoly into a private monopoly. In the case of other firms where until now they only survived because of the large state subsidies, we must say clearly that we are going to retrain the people and send them elsewhere. Other large firms we will have to get rid of because their contribution to environmental pollution is unacceptable."

[Bedoe] Finally, I asked Lothar de Maiziere to tell us how he envisions a united Germany and what will remain of the GDR?

[De Maiziere] "You know, nowadays I am frequently being asked this. Let me only say this. This Germany when united will be different from what it was previously. It will be more northern, more eastern and more Protestant. There has always been differences within Germany. The Rhine cities can look back through 2,000 years of history. Our cities are 750-800 years old. In the regions east of the Elbe there has always been somewhat greater strictness, discipline, modesty, and following from this modesty greater solidarity. Something else, also, in the FRG after 1948 the American way of life [preceding four words in English] very quickly took root. We did not have this kind of thing.

[Bedoe] "If there was, it was the Soviet influence.

[De Maiziere] "There was Soviet influence, but it was never as domineering as the American one over there. I think Guenther Gaus in his book which was published many years ago, "Where Is Germany?" made a very apt statement. Gaus said: In truth the East Germans are the ones who remained German."

Discusses Local Administration

LD0307104190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0929 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Berin (ADN)—The local constitution approved by the People's Chamber on 17 May paves the way for local authorities' self-administration as the guiding principle of a democratic and social state based on the rule of law. Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere affirmed this in Berlin today at the opening of the first conference of local administrators and mayors from all parts of the GDR. Before the 300-or-so participants, who included local politicians from the FRG, the prime minister referred to the fact that, on the basis of this local constitution, the communities can resolve all local matters autonomously. As far as the government is concerned, only orientational help should be given to this end.

Lothar de Maiziere described the autonomous community as the basis of the democratic state. The local representative bodies are therefore, at one and the same time, the most important and principal organs of the local self-administration, and no one has the right to restrict the activities of these democratically legitimized people's representations.

Referring to the trust law approved by the People's Chamber on 17 June, De Maiziere said that this in no way could be seen as squandering publicly owned property. Rather, it signifies privatization and the guarantee of efficiency, the qualitative new basis for economic activity on the territory of the GDR.

In a special session on 22 July, the People's Chamber will hear the second reading of the law on the introduction of the lands, the prime minister announced. This law, which proposes the formation of the Lands of Western Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Thueringia, and Saxony, is the result of thorough consideration of diverse political, economic, legal, and ethnic viewpoints, including social and cultural factors relating to the future integration into the all-German and pan-European framework.

Favors Accession After 2 Dec Elections

LD0407150490 Hamburg DPA in German 1431 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere is in favor of the GDR's accession to the FRG after the elections to an all-German parliament. As was learned from government sources in East Berlin, the head of government favors the night after the election on 2 December as the time of accession.

The parliamentarians elected on GDR territory could then enter the future parliament. In East Berlin circles, the figure of 120 GDR deputies was being mentioned.

An accession after the election would entail a separate count of votes in FRG territory and the GDR. The five-percent threshold must be dealt with in parliament beforehand. [passage omitted]

Second State Treaty Talks To Begin 6 Jul

LD0307132390 Hamburg DPA in German 1224 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR Government confirmed officially on Tuesday afternoon that the German-German round of negotiations about the second state treaty, the so-called unification treaty, will begin in East Berlin on Friday [6 July]. This was announced by Deputy Government Spokeswoman Angela Merkel, in reply to an inquiry. Mrs. Merkel also said that no decision had been made yet on the exact timing of the GDR's accession to the Federal Republic according to Article 23 of the Basic Law. This date, however, will be fixed in the unification treaty.

Meckel Addresses Geneva Disarmament Conference

LD0307102190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0922 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel addressed the Geneva disarmament conference today in support of a drastic reduction in all German Armed Forces. The ceiling for the Armed Forces of the united Germany could be fixed initially at a total of 300,000 soldiers. This halving of the present number of Armed Forces in the Bundeswehr and the National People's Army taken together should be included by both German states in the present CSCE negotiations in Vienna, Meckel said.

The foreign minister reassured the Geneva disarmament forum of his government's determination to make an active contribution to worldwide disarmament. The basis of the GDR Government's policy was a comprehensive understanding of security. "We are concerned with disarmament and human rights, environmental protection, the social and economic development of all people," Meckel said. "We are striving for a united Germany that is neither able nor would wish ever again to become a center of military power, but rather a Germany that acts as a factor of peace and stability."

Further on Meckel Speech

LD0307120190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Geneva (ADN)—In the time remaining until the realization of German unity, the GDR Government will actively support real and verifiable measures geared toward a qualitatively new stage in European politics and worldwide disarmament. Foreign Minister Markus Meckel affirmed this to the Geneva disarmament conference today. By overcoming the ideological division of Europe and with the ending of the Cold War, new possibilities for disarmament are emerging. The GDR wished to contribute to this through unilateral commitments and active cooperation in the multilateral negotiations taking place in Geneva and Vienna. [passage omitted]

The GDR has renounced the manufacture, transfer, and possession of nuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons. It is striving to introduce an article to this effect in the constitution of a united Germany, Meckel said. "Not only chemical weapons, but all nuclear weapons must be removed from German soil."

A part of the arms spending of the two German states could benefit an all-German development policy, the foreign minister said. Furthermore, he supported the proposal of making available a third of the resources to be saved in the arms sector in the future for the economic development of the developing countries.

The GDR politician called on the Geneva disarmament conference to speed up, in particular, the work of the convention to universally ban chemical weapons. Within this multilateral framework, the way must be paved also for a comprehensive ban on nuclear weapons.

Citizens initiatives throughout the world—including those in the GDR—are expecting this of your conference.

At a news conference, Meckel emphasized that the Geneva disarmament conference must reflect the positive changes in Europe and throughout the world, and must provide new impulses for the disarmament process. He supported most emphatically the creation of a pan-European security system to take into account the interests of all involved, and in particular those of Germany's Eastern neighbors.

Views UN Policy

LD0307124890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1151 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Geneva (ADN)—UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar will visit the GDR at the beginning of September. After a meeting with Perez de Cuellar in the Palace of Nations in Geneva, Foreign Minister Markus Meckel told ADN today that the UN secretary general had accepted an invitation to this effect from the GDR Government.

For many years now we in the GDR—even when in opposition—have been following with great respect the work of the United Nations and its secretary general for greater justice, freedom and democracy in the world, Meckel said. The GDR's policy was previously a divided one. It has not presented a good picture on the international stage, and in the United Nations in particular.

Within the country, however, this policy has not been implemented. This has now been altered fundamentally. "We are advocating, within the country also, the policy

pursued in the United Nations." Meckel expressed this view to the UN secretary general.

Agrees to Unification Before Elections

LD0307185290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1820 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpts] Geneva (ADN)—In the time remaining until the establishment of German unity, the GDR Government will actively support real and verifiable measures capable of introducing a qualitatively new stage in European policy and worldwide disarmament. This was stated by GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel at the Geneva disarmament conference today. [passage omitted]

Meckel agreed in Geneva with a proposal by his FRG colleague Genscher that the unification of the two German states should be completed even before all-German elections. Meckel told journalists that it remains to be seen whether this will take place on 2 December. "I agree that unification should take place before the elections, and 24 hours would suffice for this." It is important for elections to be held under the same conditions, and for every deputy in the future parliament to have the same background in voters and to enter that parliament on the basis of the same election regulations and all-German vote count, he said. [passage omitted]

Meckel Warns Against Oder-Neisse 'Wall'

LD0407125490 Hamburg DPA in German 1154 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Frankfurt/Oder (DPA)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel has warned against erecting new walls along the Oder-Neisse border. At a ceremonial event marking the 40th anniversary of the signing of the Goerlitz agreement on the Oder-Neisse border, Meckel said in Frankfurt/Oder this evening: "It would be unjust if the Berlin Wall, which owes its fall in part to Solidarity and to the roundtable in Warsaw, were to be rebuilt precisely along the Oder-Neisse border."

In the presence of his Polish counterpart, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Meckel added that German unity must bring a result perceived as a threat neither by any of Germany's neighbors nor by any other European people. Borders must remain both secure and open. The final unconditional and unquestioned recognition under international law of the German-Polish border at the Oder and Neisse, in a treaty between the united Germany and Poland, is indispensable. The agreement between the GDR and the Republic of Poland on the demarcation of the German-Polish state border of 6 July 1950 "is, for us, binding international law." It forms one of the pillars of the treaty to be concluded, and could be superseded only by such a treaty."

Meckel Discusses Nato Summit With Baker

LD0407141890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1218 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Brussels (ADN)—The most important declaration in the history of NATO can be expected from the forthcoming NATO summit in London. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker stated this in Brussels today to the GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel, whom he met for talks on the sidelines of the meeting of the "Group of 24." It is a requirement for this that the allies should agree with the U.S. proposals.

In connection with expectations of the NATO summit, GDR Foreign Minister Meckel said once again that, in his view, any stationing of nuclear weapons on any German territory is unacceptable.

Both sides made a positive evaluation of the state of the two-plus-four negotiations on the external aspects of the German unification, and reached agreement on a further meeting in the middle of the month in Washington, to which Meckel will pay a three-day visit.

To Visit NATO Headquarters 10 Jul

LD0507095290 Hamburg DPA in German 0922 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Brusels (DPA)—Only a few days after the extraordinary NATO summit in London, Foreign Minister Markus Meckel will visit NATO Headquarters in Brussels next Tuesday [10 July]. As the Western alliance announced on Thursday, Meckel will have an exchange of views with NATO General Secretary Manfred Woerner. Informal talks are also planned with the permanent diplomatic representatives of the 16 NATO countries in Brussels. It is the first time that a GDR minister will visit NATO headquarters in the Belgian capital.

Meckel Greets Skubiszewski, Discusses Border

LD0407174790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1751 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The desire of the German people for unity is linked with the desire for good-neighborliness with Poland. This was stated by GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel this afternoon when welcoming his Polish counterpart, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport this afternoon. Both ministers, who started their talks at the airport, stressed their conviction that a valuable impetus for this could emanate from the GDR and Poland. The problems that will inevitably arise in connection with the economic and monetary union of the two German states must not lead to the building of new walls. The Polish foreign minister expressed his satisfaction with the constructive solutions in bilateral relations that have so far been found to these questions.

The two ministers continued their talks on the journey to Frankfurt/Oder, where, in the context of the festive

concert to mark the 40th anniversary of the Goerlitz Agreement on Poland's western border, they will make speeches.

Assesses GDR-Poland Ties

LD0407211290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2027 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Frankfurt/Oder (ADN)—Foreign Minister Markus Meckel today described the Goerlitz agreement on the Oder-Neisse border as an indispensable moment in the process of historical development. Forty years ago it laid down the inviolability of the 460 km-long border between the GDR and Poland. During a festive ceremony in Frankfurt/Oder, to which Culture Minister Herbert Schirmer had issued the invitations, Meckel stressed that borders must not fence off or exclude, but must be secure and at the same time open. "We want German unity to be such that no one must fear it." He gave the assurance that Germany wanted reconciliation and to be a partner in Central Europe.

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski recalled that his country was the first in Central and East Europe to acknowledge the natural right of the German people to self-determination and state unity. He believes that the division of Europe cannot finally be overcome without German unification. He regards unification as an important factor for stability on the continent. "We are deeply convinced that state borders which divide the European peoples and which are not called into question will cease to separate people and ideas."

According to REUTER, Skubiszewski told journalists that Poland has dropped its demand that both German states should contractually guarantee the Polish border before unification. "Such a treaty, immediately following the proclamation of German unification, will be a good basis for the development of Polish-German relations."

Culture Minister Schirmer paid tribute to the German-Polish youth symphony orchestra which, conducted by Gunther Reinecker and Maciej Ogarek, played works by Handel, Vivaldi, and Mozart during the festive concert, as a living example of the cultural links between the two peoples. [passage omitted] correction in?

Eppelmann Holds Talks With Hungary's Fur

LD0107164590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Budapest (ADN)—The central themes of discussion in Budapest today between the GDR and the Hungarian defense ministers, Rainer Eppelmann and Lajos Fur, were the pan-European development and, in particular, the question of the announced departure of the Republic of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact by 31 December 1991 at the latest. Hungary does not intend subsequently to join NATO, Minister Fur said during the discussion.

Disarmament and Defense Minister Eppelmann, who arrived in Hungary today on an official visit, expressed the hope during the talk, which also focused on Hungary's expectations of the GDR in the process of German unification, for the extension of friendly relations between the two Armies. Minister Eppelmann told ADN that two troop units of the Air Forces would enter into close contact and would each live and work for a fortnight with their partners in the GDR and Hungary respectively.

Hungary expressed interest in cooperation with GDR institutes in the area of arms conversion and disarmament. According to circles close to the Hungarian Defense Ministry, Hungary will reduce its Armed Forces over the next two years by 35 per cent, i.e. 40,000 men. [passage omitted]

Meets NATO Officials

LD0307134590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1311 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Excerpt] Strausberg (ADN)—NATO Parliamentarians reached agreement today with Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann and leading members of the Ministry for Disarmament and Defense on the external aspects of the unification process of the two German states, questions of the alliance allegiance, and its future development. The delegation is headed by Jan Petersen (Norway) and Gerard Gaud (France), the subcommittee chairmen.

Minister Eppelmann reiterated that he favors one parliament, one government, and one Army. There are, however, technical and social grounds for the continued existence of two Armies for a limited period after the political unification of the two German states. It is conceivable that the National People's Army will be converted into a basic territorial Army. The most important reason for this is the security policy interests of the USSR and of the future Germany's neighbors. [passage omitted]

Soviet Ambassador Urges No Major Military Shifts

LD0307140190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1327 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—The Soviet Union assumes that for a certain period of time a united Germany will continue to honor the commitments arising from the treaties and agreements concluded by both German states. Gennadiy Shikin, USSR ambassador to the GDR, affirmed this in an interview for the BILD newspaper (Wednesday's edition). The most important thing is that after the unification of Germany no significant military-strategic shifts disadvantageous to the Soviet Union should be effected on GDR territory, the diplomat said. "Therefore we appeal for a transitional period and we ask also that during this time Soviet troops remain on present-day GDR territory."

Defense Expert Advocates Bundeswehr-NVA Merger

LD0407142390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1205 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—The Social Democratic Party defense expert Karsten Voight spoke in Potsdam today in support of an equal amalgamation of the National People's Army [NVA] and the Bundeswehr. The second state treaty should stipulate concrete transitional regulations governing the defense composition, military district organization, defense structure and the force ratio of the two Armed Forces after German unity.

Voight, who is in Potsdam as a member of a NATO delegation of parliamentarians, told ADN that in the transitional period the NVA should be controlled by a GDR parliamentary state secretary and not from the Hardthoehe [FRG Defense Ministry]. "In no way can the Bundeswehr remain intact and only the NVA forces be cut," he said. The Army stationed on present GDR territory should continue in the future to be separated from NATO control.

Finance Ministry Official on Economic Union Impact

LD0107144190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0630 GMT 1 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Finance Ministry State Secretary Werner Skovron by Ivan Bedoe on the "World Clock" program; place and date not given—Skovron in German with superimposed translation into Hungarian]

[Excerpt] What problems does the economic union of the two German states raise in the relations with the countries of Central-East Europe, our country among them? Ivan Bedoe has spoken with GDR State Secretary in the Finance Ministry (Werner Skovron).

[Begin recording] [Bedoe] The GDR, with West German help, is now being, so to speak, lifted out of the former CEMA zone. The economic relations have already been thoroughly shaken up, because since the GDR enterprises have been taking their own decisions, which in itself is correct, they have been trading not so much with the Hungarians, Poles, Soviets, but more obviously with the West Germans.

[(Skovron)] We will honor many of our existing contracts. Since we are talking about this, I would like to observe that it was not we who started this thing with the independence of the enterprises [as heard]. From now on, naturally, we will also look for partners who are able to deliver the goods. Perhaps you are not of this opinion, that our market, of which we will be proud, will also be interesting to you. We will not sever our existing relations, but we shall raise them to a higher level.

[Bedoe] There is also a human side to this. In recent decades, kinsmanlike, friendly, relations have evolved between the inhabitants of the GDR and Hungary. From now on the cost of train or air fares, telephone and postal charges, will be calculated on entirely new bases. How can you attenuate this situation?

[(Skovron)] With regard to family relations, we shall certainly take measures. We have several things in mind, but I would not like to give details yet. I am thinking of issues with which your government could also approach us. I can say this much, that it would be a question of an agreement serving mutual interests. We shall do this even if it causes problems for us. [passage omitted on currency speculation in Berlin] [end recording]

Unemployment up in May; Productivity Down

LD0207173490 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA/VWD)—The drop in the GDR's industrial production in May was twice as high on average as against the preceding months since the beginning of the year. This emerges from the monthly report of the Economy Ministry for May, published in Berlin today. The downward trend was caused above all by the drop in the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs, as well as in the chemical industry, it says. The production value of the first five months was 5.5 percent under that of the corresponding previous year. Compared to April 1990 alone, it had fallen by one percent, the ministry writes. Linked with this was a further reduction in labor productivity.

According to the information, the number of officially registered unemployed persons in the GDR in May increased by 26,635 from the preceding month to 94,807. Thus the number of unemployed has risen for the first time to over one percent. The number of job vacancies went down by the end of May to 54,284, and thus was over 50,000 less than at the end of March. One third of the unemployed have been without work for at least three months.

The situation regarding orders in GDR industry in the first five months of 1990 is characterised by drastic reductions. In May alone, orders to a value of 11.6 GDR marks were cancelled—primarily by GDR enterprises. Clear restraint was also exercised in investments. In the first three months of 1990 with 13.7 billion GDR marks, 13.1 percent gross less was invested than in the same period last year.

Free Access for EC Goods as of 1 Jul

AU0307150290 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 29 Jun 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Free Access for Goods From EC"]

[Text] East Berlin—As of 1 July, the GDR will grant goods from the EC free access to its economic area. At the same time, as of this day the EC customs duties, the EC customs law, and all other measures of the EC's joint

trade policy will be applied in trade with third countries. This was announced by the Economics Ministry on Thursday [28 June], referring to the customs duties regulation passed by the Council of Ministers the day before.

Peoples Chamber Session To Debate Foreign Policy

LD0507093490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0805 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Parliamentary deputies met in Berlin this morning for their 21st session. Proceedings opened with a question period. Deputies submitted questions on disarmament and defense, finance, transport, and justice. Subsequently, Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere is to give a government statement on foreign policy. This will be followed by a debate involving all the parliamentary groups.

Also to be debated are the law on the organization of the judiciary, the law on the state prosecutor's office, the law on judges, the law on statistics, the law on the formation and modus operandi of the building inspectorates, the law on architects, the law on the formation of the GDR Constitutional Court, and implementation of the FRG's law on regional planning.

The deputies will also hear a report by the parliamentary working group investigating the energy sector. A motion has also been submitted for an extension of the rights and monitoring tasks of the special commission set up by the People's Chamber on 7 June 1990 on the state security ministry and the RAF [Red Army Faction].

The election of administrative council members of the Trustee Office will also take place.

The topical hour is on the 'Future of the GDR Media.'

PDS Assets Said Hidden in Western Firms

AU0307152890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 30 Jun 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Assets of Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism Hidden in Western Companies"]

[Text] Munich—The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] has allegedly hidden its foreign assets in numerous Western companies. The July edition of the WIENER magazine carries a report to that effect. It refers to a 44-page file of the FRG's Federal Intelligence Service (BND), dated 29 May 1990, in which "enterprises in the FRG and other Western countries that are 'under the influence of the successor of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the PDS,' were listed" for a senior member of the Kohl government. The magazine presumes that the BND received the information from the former State Secretary Schalck-Golodkowski, who avoided possible criminal prosecution in the GDR by fleeing to the FRG.

According to the findings of the BND, the PDS holds shares in 47 enterprises in the FRG and other Western countries, the magazine reports. The BND file shows a participation of the PDS in the capital stock in 26 enterprises. The enterprises are intertwined in many ways. "The PDS is sitting like a spider in a close network of letter-box firms and holdings in Liechtenstein, the Netherlands, and Switzerland," the magazine writes.

The magazine considers the document particularly explosive because assets are involved here that the PDS has not acquired but inherited from the SED. According to the BND document, a "competent source" estimated these assets at 80-90 billion marks.

The BND report, however, states that the PDS is trying to preserve large parts of the assets that are not known to the public through companies that still have to be founded, the magazines stresses. "In this connection, foundations close to the PDS should help and take care of the assets until after reunification," the magazine states. The PDS has so far declined to comment on the report published by the WIENER magazine.

Wolf on Stasi, RAF Terrorists, Criminal Charges

AU0307154890 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 2 Jul 90 pp 21-26

[Interview with former intelligence chief Markus Wolf by Uly Foerster and Ulrich Schwarz; place and date not given: "I Am Not Putting on Sheep's Clothing"]

[Excerpts] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Wolf, after the uncovering of the links between the Stasi state security system and the Red Army Faction [RAF], both FRG and GDR politicians are now attacking you. However, you claim, just like the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] leader Erich Honecker, that you "learned everything from the press." Nobody believes a word of that.

[Wolf] I have been confronted with problems recently that were not within my responsibility. I have never said, however, that I do not know anything after 30 years of service at the Ministry for State Security, where I headed the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration (HVA). I know a great deal.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you do not want to say anything?

[Wolf] Not everything. In connection with things that were not within my responsibility, I can only say that I really did not know anything. I am ready to assume responsibility for cases that were within my sphere of competence, and to talk about them. There are still a few things that might really interest the president of the Cologne-based Office for the Protection of the Constitution, Mr. Gerhard Boeden.

[DER SPIEGEL] Would you confirm the statement that you did not know anything about cooperation between Stasi and the terrorist organization Red Army Faction?

[Wolf] Yes, absolutely. I also told the president of the People's Chamber, Mrs. Bergmann-Pohl, this in a letter.

[DER SPIEGEL] The "diabolical link," as Interior Minister Diestel put it, has been established with the help of Palestinians. How can something like that have slipped your attention?

[Wolf] I do not want to rule out that the HVA was involved, if such a message was actually sent by a Palestinian organization or by another Arab mission; but I do not remember such a thing. Everything that was linked with terrorism was strictly handled in the ministry from the beginning...

[DER SPIEGEL] ...in the Main Department XXII for the fight against terrorism, which was headed by Deputy Minister Gerhard Neiber from the beginning of the eighties, and before that by Colonel General Bruno Beater. They protected the members of the RAF terrorists.

[Wolf] This is what Neiber told the public.

[DER SPIEGEL] In general, however, the HVA was responsible for contacts with the Palestinians.

[Wolf] No, one cannot put it this way. There were state agreements—usually concluded at the ministerial level—on relations with Arab states and the Palestinians. Within this framework, there existed also state agreements between the Ministry for State Security and the respective organizations. In these agreements, numerous details were stipulated, such as consultations, training, and technical equipment. This was usually taken care of by the responsible main department.

[DER SPIEGEL] Let us put it more clearly: Stasi built secret services in various Arab states, such as South Yemen, which was a sovereign state at the time, with which RAF members who were at large had contacts. Is it possible that the head of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration did not know anything about this?

[Wolf] I do not remember anything like that. The Stasi units in these countries—such as in Yemen, for example—included members that did not necessarily come from the HVA. The unit head, no matter where he came from, had to report to the corresponding HVA department.

[DER SPIEGEL] You must be responsible for the fact that the GDR citizen Susanne Albrecht was several times "shown" in Damascus to mislead Western secret services.

[Wolf] I cannot say anything new in this connection. I do not remember such a thing. You probably know that I and the HVA were mainly responsible for the FRG, West Berlin, and NATO. Contrary to other secret services in socialist countries, the HVA had no regional subdivisions. The HVA had only one additional department, which was responsible for the rest of the world. For me what happened in these countries was of relatively little significance.

[DER SPIEGEL] You stated that you mainly concentrated on the FRG. Were you not interested in the RAF?

[Wolf] I am sorry. I was as interested in the RAF just like you and everybody else.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did it never occur to you that you might use the RAF—in whatever way—in the "anti-imperialist struggle" to destabilize the FRG?

[Wolf] I have never seen it this way. The activities of the RAF were extremely damaging. Any closeness to any person from this circle was particularly dangerous for us. I strongly reject the idea that I or another member of the my office might have viewed the RAF as an opportunity to destabilize the FRG. There was agreement that contact with the RAF was to be avoided by all means.

[DER SPIEGEL] This is exactly what the GDR leadership did not do. Why did these people find refuge in the GDR?

[Wolf] I would like to know that as well.

[DER SPIEGEL] After all, Stasi was no charity organization that provided a petty-bourgeois existence to RAF defectors for humanitarian reasons.

[Wolf] As Neiber stated, one reason might be that the GDR wanted to neutralize the activities on the terror scene, particularly the Arab scene. There was at least one case in which a GDR embassy—I think it was the embassy in Paris—received a threat from terrorists. Security officials constantly tried to find ways to ensure protection in this sphere.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did Stasi want to do the allies in the Middle East, the PLO, a favor by ridding them of RAF defectors? After all, you are quite familiar with the Middle East as a former head of the intelligence service, even if you pretend to know nothing.

[Wolf] Unfortunately, I do not know the Middle East so well.

[DER SPIEGEL] For years, you have been hailed as one of the best intelligence officers, and now it is becoming obvious that you have been considerably overestimated.

[Wolf] I think that I know many things which have not yet been fully disclosed by defectors—traitors in my view. I am not putting on sheep's clothes and pretending not to have seen much. I really do not know anything about what you are confronting me with now.

[DER SPIEGEL] Well, you were a deputy of Stasi Minister Mielke for many years.

[Wolf] Paradoxically enough, a proper leadership did not exist in the Ministry for State Security. Basically, there were no consultations between the minister and his

deputies. Contrary to other ministries in the GDR and contrary to the rules, the collegium had only a formal role. It met about once or twice are year while I was in office. It only dealt with formal matters. You will never find any evidence—either in reports by defectors or in the files—that would confirm the opposite. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Apart from Mielke and Neiber, who knew about the asylum for former RAF members? Honecker?

[Wolf] Neiber supposes so.

[DER SPIEGEL] Neiber stated that something like that is "inconceivable" without Honecker's knowledge.

[Wolf] I can presume that it might be conceivable, but this is no statement.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you really consider it possible that State Security Minister Erich Mielke acted at his own risk? If the links between Stasi and the RAF had become known, Honecker's entire policy toward the West would have been ruined, and the GDR's reputation would have been irreparably damaged.

[Wolf] Now you are appealing to my logic.

[DER SPIEGEL] No, to your familiarity with the apparatus of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

[Wolf] Mielke discussed a lot of insignificant things with Honecker to be on the safe side. Thus he used to ask Honecker to confirm that, say, 2,000 West marks had to be spent for something. In this connection, one can only state that this was sheer madness. How can a minister bother the State Council chairman and general secretary with such nonsense? Mielke did not inform Honecker, with whom he did not have a very close relationship of trust, about other things—either because he did not consider it opportune or because he feared negative reactions. Still, I do not consider it very likely that he did not discuss the RAF issue with Honecker.

[DER SPIEGEL] Only the deputy minister new nothing whatsoever?

[Wolf] I was never the deputy of Minister Mielke. No first deputy was installed between the death of Beater in 1982 until my resignation in 1986. I did not deputize a single hour for Mielke.

[DER SPIEGEL] And you had no contact with your colleague Nieber who was responsible for the RAF action?

[Wolf] I do not want to say that. You must know that the word "conspiracy" was almost a fetish in this ministry.

[DER SPIEGEL] Let us talk about actions about which you know something so that you can provide information.

[Wolf] I hope that you are not acting on behalf of Mr. Boeden.

[DER SPIEGEL] We are from DER SPIEGEL, and not from a secret service. President Boeden can read the report afterwards. Mr. Wolf, according to the findings of your Western competitors, the HVA did not only carry out intelligence activities abroad, but it also sold weapons in the service of socialism, to South Africa or Chile, for example. Did you know about this?

[Wolf] I must again disappoint you. If I knew something, it was only by hearsay. This did not fall in my sphere of responsibility.

[DER SPIEGEL] Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski, who procured foreign currency for the GDR and carried out shady dealings on behalf of Honecker, was an officer in the Ministry for State Security. Did he belong to your department?

[Wolf] No.

[DER SPIEGEL] To what department did he belong?

[Wolf] He must have been under the direct control of the minister. As far as I know, he discussed these issues with nobody else but Mielke. A few years prior to my resignation, a department headed by Rudolf Mittig was created, who was responsible for Schalck-Golodkowski.

[DER SPIEGEL] It is striking that you are making Mielke appear to be the only person responsible for all scandalous Stasi actions, such as links with the RAF or the sale of weapons. Mielke "is playing with building blocks now," as people in the GDR put it, which means that he can neither be questioned nor sued.

[Wolf] I refuse to deliver up persons who cooperated with my Main Administration in good faith.

[DER SPIEGEL] The GDR population was frightened by a report that 2,000 "officers in special operations" who have not yet been identified are still holding key positions in the economy, the administration, and in the parties. Is there a Stasi that works in the underground?

[Wolf] This is nonsense. The officers in special operations have always existed. They were members of the Ministry for State Security, for whom we wanted to provide social protection in this way. They were given a new identity and retained their grade. If they earned less in their civilian jobs, we paid the difference. It is absurd that these people should become active in the underground if something happens, for the very reason that, before October 1989, Mielke never took into consideration the possibility that something might happen. This would imply some kind of werewolf structure, which I rule out.

[DER SPIEGEL] So far you have depicted the HVA members as nice Stasi soldiers wearing ties. Who were the bad ones?

[Wolf] This is a common feature of all secret services in the whole world. In Moscow it was customary for the counterintelligence officers to wear rustic clothes, whereas the intelligence officers used to wear ties.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Wolf, you have described Stasi as the "core of the suppression mechanism" in the GDR. Do think you are completely innocent?

[Wolf] What is guilt? I stated the following in my speech in East Berlin's Alexanderplatz on 4 November 1989: I am responsible for having headed this apparatus for decades, which is rightly perceived as the core of the suppression mechanism. Shortly afterwards somebody said: You have turned from a Stasi general into a bearer of hope, and now you are again turning into a Stasi general. This is a good description of my situation.

[DER SPIEGEL] You have stated that you broke with Stalinism at a very early stage. Why did you not speak up when decisions were made that you could not support?

[Wolf] This is a question that many communists will have to ask themselves. What were we living for? After my resignation from public service, I tried to encourage people to speak their minds and to spread the ideas of glasnost and perestroyka in the GDR. From today's viewpoint, this was too late. I supported this system for decades in a high position. I think that, having been a Stasi leader, I have a certain responsibility. I am not guilty, however, in the legal sense for crimes and for the gigantic expansion of spying activities and the repression in the GDR. I drew the conclusion by refusing to assume responsibility again or any kind of office, or a position after the protest demonstration in Alexanderplatz. At the time several persons asked me to assume responsibility for the entire state security system. This sounds incredible today.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who wanted you to assume this office?

[Wolf] Some members of the Central Committee which was headed by Egon Krenz at the time. Two of them were ministers. It was like a medieval conspiracy. They told me that we had to save the country, and that I was the only one who has the required authority to take over the Ministry for State Security, so that the worst could be prevented. I did not hesitate for a moment. As a matter of fact, I would even have rejected such an offer 10 years ago.

[DER SPIEGEL] What could you have done during your term of office to prevent negative developments?

[Wolf] Like thousands of others, I used to believe that changes could be brought about in this country. I had created an area within the HVA where I was relatively autonomous, where I made my own decisions. I am still convinced that what happened there was necessary on the basis of the Constitution and on the basis of the legitimate security interests of the GDR for the protection of peace and the defense of socialism.

I knew that I would have had to resign if I got into trouble with the ministry over somebody or some issue, such as with the overinflated repression apparatus. I was not really afraid of that but I did not want to leave the HVA to somebody else, and I did not want to put the people for whom I was responsible into somebody else's hands. One can accept this attitude or not. One can view it as opportunism or not. This is the way it was. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Is it true that the HVA comprised 4,000 members?

[Wolf] I cannot confirm it in this way. I guess that during my period of service about 1,000 men were active in the operational sphere in the HVA Berlin.

[DER SPIEGEL] What about the "invisible front?"

[Wolf] Figures between 3,000 and 10,000 have been mentioned in this connection. In Bonn Mr. Lutz Stavenhagen, who coordinates the secret services in Bonn, has estimated them at 4,000 and simply claimed that 2,000 of these have been handed over to the KGB. How does he know? He is not in a position to know that.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why do you not give us a serious estimate? How many are still in the FRG?

[Wolf] This is no use. First, I do not have any exact information on the four-year period after my resignation. Second, this question is much less important than the question where the top people are located.

[DER SPIEGEL] What are top people?

[Wolf] The genuinely important people in the FRG, people with access to secrets or those who are close to leading politicians.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many top people did the HVA include during your period of service?

[Wolf] I would say less than 100; closer to 50 than 90.

[DER SPIEGEL] According to our information, GDR Interior Minister Diestel knows the names of two government members in Bonn, including a state secretary, who worked for the Ministry for State Security. Did you belong to this department?

[Wolf] This is the first time I have heard this. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you in favor of an amnesty for such top people and also less important agents?

[Wolf] Apparently there are differing views on this topic in the FRG. One side takes into consideration the difficult situation of the former employees of the secret service after the disbanding of the Ministry for State Security and expects a revelation of all details, particularly concerning persons outside the GDR who cooperated with the HVA. I do not believe that this way will lead to a good solution. Such a forced disclosure would

not lead to internal peace. Insecurity and mistrust would continue to prevail. Nobody would know what is known and what has not been disclosed.

The other side, as I understand from statements by competent figures in the FRG, including Interior Minister Wolfgang Schaeuble, is seeking a different solution: They would give the former employees of the GDR secret service the opportunity of showing their loyalty to a united Germany and its Constitution, and of accommodating the security interests of the FRG. Such a solution that would grant immunity from prosecution would give a real chance to unknown former secret service members. This issue must be settled within the harmonization of legislation before unification. If I can help here, I am ready to do so.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Wolf, you have claimed that West German secret services have offered you money for your knowledge.

[Wolf] Yes.

[DER SPIEGEL] This has been sharply denied?

[Wolf] I do not understand all this excitement. In one of his numerous television statements, Mr. Boeden stressed that Mr. Wolf is not worth a single mark. One knows where he comes from and where he belongs. I can only agree with him.

[DER SPIEGEL] Tell us how much you were offered.

[Wolf] I want to make this clear on the basis of another example. A member from the medium level was offered 500,000 marks directly by Mr. Boeden's office. I consider it almost normal from the viewpoint of Mr. Boeden or the Office for the Protection of the Constitution for them to try to exploit the catastrophic situation of the former employees of the HVA and make such offers. However, the man was under such pressure that he attempted to commit suicide. I gave Mr. Diestel the name of the man and informed him about the circumstances as early as April, asking him to inform the FRG side to prevent further pressure or attempts in this connection.

[DER SPIEGEL] As a matter of fact, Bonn is not opposed to talks on amnesty, but it wants exceptions. There are two former members of the GDR secret service in particular that the FRG justice authorities do not want to exempt from prosecution: Hans-Joachim Tiedge who defected from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution to the GDR, and you.

[Wolf] I cannot understand this.

[DER SPIEGEL] Even Kurt Rebmann, who was federal public prosecutor until recently, demanded that there should be no amnesty for Tiedge and you.

[Wolf] I have assumed a calm attitude on this issue so far. I probably should not, however, be so calm in view of the pace of German unification and in the face of the fact that the legal situation is still unclear. I have now asked my Hamburg lawyer to try and get access to the files so that I know what the authorities are accusing me of. I presume it is generally my activity at the head of the intelligence service which is punishable according to Western legal opinion.

[DER SPIEGEL] Among other things, the FRG is accusing you of intelligence activities in a particularly serious case. Maximum penalty: Ten years imprisonment.

[Wolf] In 1989, the General Public Prosecutor's Office suddenly claimed that I would be facing prosecution if I were involved in the Tiedge case. I do not understand this because I do not know Tiedge personally.

Even if I had known Tiedge, I would see no difference between his case and numerous other cases for which I was responsible. If criminal proceedings were instituted against me, and I were held responsible for this, I would assume responsibility for all members of the secret service to create a precedent.

[DER SPIEGEL] So, you would not emigrate to the Soviet Union after German unification but give yourself up to the FRG judicial authorities?

[Wolf] Yes, I think so. As a matter of fact, I do not have absolute confidence in West German justice. I have enough confidence, however, to believe that I can survive something like that with a relevant defense and also through reason, which, to my knowledge, exists among many politicians. [passage omitted]

Antall Discusses Burlakov Views With Soviet Envoy

LD0407183190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Jozsef Antall has received Soviet Ambassador Aboimov, and told him that statements like that made most recently by Colonel General Burlakov are not beneficial for the two countries' relationship. It may be remembered that according to the commander in chief of the Soviet Southern Army Group, Hungary must pay compensation for the buildings left behind by the withdrawing Soviet Army; otherwise they might perhaps suspend the troop withdrawal. The Hungarian premier, beyond this, emphasized that an official reassessment of the Soviet armed intervention in 1956 could considerably contribute to an improvement in the two countries' relations. He also said that cooperation with the USSR remains in Hungary's interest, but it wants to avoid one-sided economic dependence.

Defense Official on Threat To Halt Soviet Pullout

AU0407130490 Budapest MTI in English 0948 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, 3 Jul (MTI)—An interview is carried in the Tuesday issue of the newspaper "NEPSZABADSAG" with Brigadier General Antal Annus, state secretary of the Ministry of Defence, government commissioner. The article focuses on the comment by Colonel General Matvei Burlakhov, commander of the Southern Army Group stationed in Hungary, published in Monday's issue of IZVESTIYA, threatening to halt the Soviet pullout in case the Hungarian side does not comply with the demand to settle accounts after each facility [is] vacated by the Soviet troops.

It was pointed out by Brigadier General Annus that the agreement (of March 10) on the troop withdrawals, was concluded between governments.

"We are endeavouring to keep the terms of the agreement, and we have every right to expect the other side to do the same. I still do not assume that the Soviet Union would not wish to comply to the terms of said the agreement. [no closing quotes as received]

In response to the question whether the statement by Colonel General Burlakhov comes as a surprise, Mr Annus said:

"No. Similar statements have been made by them also in the past, namely that the dispute over the accounting may affect the implementation of the agreement and the withdrawal. Each time such a statement was made we pointed out that the accounting difficulties may not be a ground for any delays. Clause seven of the agreement reads, 'All matters not settled by the agreements in force, are to be regulated by separate agreements to be concluded by the sides'. Under terms of this clause the Soviets have no call for impatience in the absence of an agreement in all aspects".

Q: Is this the first instance that such a threat is made?

A: Similar statements have been made before. A group of politicians paid a visit here last week, headed by the deputy president of the Soviet Parliament's State Security Committee. Following their visit to the headquarters of the Southern Army Group they said Hungary will have to reckon with yet unspecified measures. Incidentally, the gentlemen in the said committee could have paid a visit to us as well, given that they were on a fact-finding mission, but they did not..." [quotation mark as received] Brigadier General Annus said.

Trade With PRC Shows Slight Drop

LD0407155690 Budapest MTI in English 1232 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 4, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The level of two- way trade between Hungary and China in the first five months of this year was similar to that of the same period last year. The value of Hungarian exports was 59.2 million Swiss Francs [SFR], slightly down on last year's 60 million SFR, while imports fell to 35.5 million SFR from last year's 46 million.

In 1989, Hungarian exports to China amounted to 180 million SFR, with imports at 138 million SFR.

The Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations anticipates a further decline in the level of trade between the two countries in view of a reduced number of agreements concluded this year.

The two countries have agreed to go over to hard currency accounting in trade from January 1, 1991 and this is expected to result in a further decline in trade.

The structure of trade shows no change from last year, with a major part of Hungarian exports comprising buses and comnponents for lorries and also the establishment of fish, pig and poultry farms in China.

A significant part of Hungary's imports is made up of clothing articles, sports and leather shoes, as well as canned mushrooms and tropical fruits.

Parliament Budget Committee Backs Economic Package

LD0407205390 Budapest MTI in English 1342 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 4, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Following heated debate at its Wednesday session, the Budget Committee of the Hungarian parliament has opted to support the government's package which will cut the budget deficit to 10 billion forints.

Under a standby agreement with the IMF, the deficit of Hungary's central budget should not exceed 10 billion forints this year.

The package envisages raising the prices of energy, petrol, diesel oil and electricity by 30-40 per cent, and is aimed at a considerable cut in state subsidies.

The opposition's main criticism of the government package was that it seeks to raise budget incomes mainly via price rises, which, they say, fuels inflation, currently running at an annual rate of 25 per cent.

The government reckons the package will raise the consumer price index by a mere 1.7 percentage points this year, while the opposition is talking about 4-5 points.

Government MPs and ministers argued that a decision should be reached in the next day or two, since links between Hungary and the International Monetary Fund, which were only recently settled after a series of long negotiations, may be endangered again.

The Budget Committee finally opted to support the government's package. The earliest this can come before parliament is next week.

Horn Speaks on Europe at Summer University

LD0407211290 Budapest MTI in English 1928 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 4 (MTI)—The summer university for young people, entitled "Europe—Youth—Future", opened in Salgotarjan on Wednesday. Over a hundred young people from 14 countries have come to participate in the ten-day event.

The keynote address, entitled "Hungary's Possibilities in Europe Undergoing Transformation", was delivere by Gyula Horn, chairman of parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee.

He said: "The countries in Central and Eastern Europe will be unable to establish a market economy from their own resources. However, should economic deterioration continue, this might well lead to a political explosion, which would threaten democratic transformation at its roots."

Then, Mr Horn went on to say that without a new Marshall Plan, the Central and East European countries would not be able to overcome their economic difficulties. These countries would require today's equivalent of the Marshall aid granted in the wake of the 2nd World War—approximately 60,000 million dollars—in order to restore their economy, which Mr Horn compared to that of the post- war countries that received the aid.

"A condition of creating a united Europe is setting up an all- European defence and security system. The first stage in this gradual process is an agreement on conventional disarmament which, it is to be hoped, will be signed between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty member states in Vienna as early as this autumn. This agreement would be a condition of advance in the direction of an all-european cooperation."

"Reaching the agreement could set an example of close cooperation between the WT and NATO in major questions of defence systems. This would create an entirely new situation and prove that setting up an all-European defence and security system by the second half of the nineties was a realistic objective at any rate, provided the democratic transformation in the Soviet Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe was implemented.

"The NATO and WT can decide on the security role of the united Germany only as a result of joint meetings and consultations, meaning that any unilateral action is out of the question."

"We support not only the reunification of the two countries, but also their NATO membership, as this would provide a safeguard against uncontrolled armament," said Mr Horn.

In connection with Hungary's security, Mr Horn said: "We are not only interested in a new agreement of cooperation based on equal rights, but also in a system on bilateral agreements which would provide new safeguards for Hungary's security."

Goncz on Local Elections, Presidential Referendum

LD0207143190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0838 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Speech by Hungarian Interim President Arpad Goncz to the Hungarian National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed house. Allow me, in a few words, to justify why I decided that, availing myself of my constitutional authority, I should set the date for local authority elections for 30 September, 1990. When setting the date, I had to take two viewpoints into account. First, that the extended mandates of the currently functioning local authorities expire on 23 September; thus, it is urgent that the local authority elections be held. This is all the more so, because through the local authority elections, the structure of our democracy will be become complete, and this, at the level of legislature and local administration alike, will enable the people themselves to elect their representatives, definitively and irrevocably to take in hand the control of their own fate, so that they can genuinely fulfill the so-desired change of system.

Two preconditions of the local authority elections are that the government should submit to the house the relevant bill, so that the house can debate and adopt this circumspectly and in a calm atmosphere. Our National Assembly, being aware of the importance of its almost destiny-determining task from the viewpoint of our country's democratic system, was willing to sacrifice its summer leave for this.

With the fulfillment of the first condition, the submission of the bill, I will have not had the means to take a legally valid decision regarding the date, until I am given credible moral assurance that the second condition, the discussion of the submitted bill, will be completed in time.

Mr. Prime Minister, with reference to the importance of the local authority elections, asked me by means of a letter to set the earliest possible date for the local authority elections, 23 September, and the three parties of the government coalition have also appealed to me with a letter of similaar content, in which they assured me that the discussion of the bill would be concluded in time, and that it would be possible to hold the elections at the requested, early date.

In the meantime, the counting and authentication of the signature of the people's initiative pertaining to the method of electing the president of the republic, which demands a referendum in the matter, has taken place. Since the number of valid signatures exceeded the 100,000 required by law, the National Assembly will have to announce the referendum as soon as possible. My conviction is that a possible delay of the local authority elections—which are of basic importance from the viewpoint of our democracy—and protracted lack of clarity concerning the method of electing the president, both would give rise to uncertainty in our country's political life.

For this reason, following discussions held with Mr. Prime Minister and the parliamentary parties, I have decided that I would ask the esteemed house to make it legally possible to carry out the referendum one month earlier than the date according to the regulations which are now legally in force—that is, on 29 July of this year, so that we should be able to hold the local authority elections in the fall one week after the mandates of the local authorities expire, on 30 September 1990.

I am aware that this lays an incredible burden on the council apparatus—even if we find a simplified way of conducting the referendum. But my conviction is that merely setting these two dates will contribute to a calming down of the political atmosphere which has unhealthily heated up recently, and so that parliament, instead of big debates which unnecessarily are full of emotions, can set to work on calm and professional legislative activity.

No matter what results the referendum on the method of electing the president might yield, it will bring an end to the debates, the uncertainty, which insinuate illegitimacy concerning the holding of the position of president and which gravely damage the prestige of the institution, as well as bringing an end to its overly-protracted temporary character. For this reason the soonest possible closing of this question with reassurance would also influence pointing in the direction of restoring the desirable political stability.

I consider it likely that, regarding the need for calm legislative work to take place in parliament, in order to have stability in our political life, agreement should prevail among all the parties in the house, indeed among the press which is taking stands with praiseworthy ardour in the disputed issues. According to the evidence of the enormous numbers of letters which I have received, this is what public opinion also desires.

I would like to reassure the esteemed house that, guided by this consideration, I have set the date for local authority elections, and this consideration guides me when I propose that the house make it legally possible for there to be a referendum on the method of electing the president before the local authority elections, on 29 July, which by no means hampers a discussion of the law on local authority elections.

In conclusion, since the referendum regarding the method of electing the president also affects my person, allow me briefly to relate my stand in this connection. First and foremost, allow me to quote myself. It is only possible, not to give back, but to lose, confidence. If the referendum decides that the people should directly elect the president of the republic, I shall undertake to be weighed in the balance; if it is decided that it is the esteemed house which is entitled, which has the right to elect the president, as a matter of course I shall accept the house's decision. My opinion is unchanged: the office is what is essential, and not my person. More precisely, it is the legality of the holding of the position [which is essential] since the president is the embodiment of the nation's unity. Any doubt on this, after the referendum, could not be to the detriment or benefit of anyone, but will only harm the entire nation. Thank you for your kind attention. (applause]

Interior Ministry on Professional Soldiers

AU0407172390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jul 90 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Interior Ministry Spokesman Colonel Gyorgy Keleti by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "Where Will the Professional Soldiers Go?—Interior Ministry Statement on Former Political Officers, Disarmament"]

[Excerpts] [Vajda] A deputy said in parliament recently that the Army command is in a difficult situation because the professional staff is bound to the old regime. Are they really bound to the old regime?

[Keleti] I can now provide information about the opinion poll we carried out recently among the officers and professional warrant officers. A great majority of these people answered positively to the question whether there were any events during the last year that considerably improved their mood. According to their answers, a large majority of these people received the democratic changes that have taken place in the neighboring countries positively and thought that these events also strengthened our own situation. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] It is possible, however, that the overall picture is not so clearly positive....

[Keleti] There have been, and still are people, mainly among the older generation, who cannot identify with the changes or can do so only with difficulty. Their number is not large, however, because the average age of professional soldiers is 36. Democracy, and the stabilization of recent changes is important for the younger generation, so that they can also plan their own future.

[Vajda] Back to those who cannot find their place in today's Army: Has their number increased compared with the previous situation?

[Keleti] Yes, it has. According to our information to date, 1,175 officers or warrant officers left the Army in the first half of the current year. Health reasons or disciplinary reasons were insignificant, but many did not take the oath for the Hungarian Republic or did not sign the professional soldiers' oath. There were 573 such cases. We do not know the exact reasons, because they did not have to justify their decision. [passage omitted]

[Vajda] There were party policy workers in the Army, and they became education officers later. What will happen to these people now?

[Keleti] The department of educational officers and social policy staff will soon be eliminated in the Army, because the current organization has become obsolete. Education will become an organic part of the military training. The Army needs personnel for social policy tasks, and the organizational conditions for this activity will remain, following some reorganization. [passage omitted]

Coal Mine Strikes Continue; Talks Held

LD0307074590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The strike is continuing in the Markushegy mine because the miners were unable to come to agreement at the negotiations held with the minister of labor, as well as with the political state secretary of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Representing some 2,000 miners, a ten-member delegation left for Budapest in the morning to hold talks with Peter Akos Bod, minister of industry and commerce, to discuss their demands, which are summed up in 16 points. They indicated that if they receive a positive reply to their requests, they will begin work immediately. Simultaneously, the management of the Oroszlany coal mines has appealed to a court to judge the strike from a legal viewpoint; the work stoppage was not signaled in advance by either the workers council or the local strike committee.

Miners Present Demands to Officials

LD0307111390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] In Budapest, negotiations have begun between representatives of the striking miners of Markushegy and the minister of industry and commerce and the competent state secretary. The mine's director and a delegation of the Miners Trade Union are also taking part in the talks. They demand, in part, tax reforms, the reduction of administrative staff, pension reform, a 50-percent pay raise, and the calling to account of those leaders who, through ruthless exploitation, have wrecked the mining industry.

The strikers also demand that Polish guest workers be expelled. The Miners Trade Union considers some of the claims just, and in some issues the prospect of positive measures was raised by the government, too.

Government Accepts Retirement Demands

LD0307122390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] In Budapest, the Minister of Industry and Commerce has accepted the striking miners' demand that they be able to retire after working underground for 25 years. According to information from the Miners Trade Union secretary general, there is hope for agreement at the talks.

While negotiations continue in Budapest between workers' representatives and the ministry's leadership, more miners in Oroszlany have professed solidarity with the strikers and stopped work. At the same time, the Workers Council chairman of the Markushegy Mine has arbitrarily ordered a news blackout during the negotiations, and the strike guards are not allowing journalists into the enterprise area.

Compromise Agreement Reached

LD0307180190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] [Announcer] Talks between the striking Oroszlany miners and Peter Akos Bod, minister of industry, began this morning. The government did not accept the demands in all cases, but the negotiations cannot be said to have been unsuccessful. Katalin Tasi reports from the Industry Ministry:

[Tasi] The delegates from Markushegy negotiated from 0900 through to 1700 with the government representatives. They [word indistinct] much debate about the 50-percent wage increase. The final compromise is as follows:

The miners have voted confidence in the general director of the Oroszlany mining enterprise at Markushegy. With the cooperation of the workers council, there will be a reduction in numbers. A large number of administrative

workers will be dismissed; and the local tehnical directors whom the miners consider unfit will be sacked. The wage increase will be introduced following this. Beginning in September there will be 10 percent which the general director will decree from local sources and wage savings. Beginning in November, 20 percent can be expected, which must also be found at the mining plants, primarily through more profitable management. By that time, the government review of the situation of Hungarian mining will have taken place. The third phase of the wage increase is in February, once again with a 20 percent increase. The basis of this will be raising the production price of coal.

Another result of today's talks is that Peter Akos Bod, industry and commerce minister, has accepted new conditions for retirement eligibility. According to this, miners can retire if they wish to after 25 years of underground service. The people from Markushegy were also inclined to compromise. They renounced their demand, in connection with the taxable income, that the [word indistinct] supplement should be exempt from taxes. They will resolve their local demands regarding the distribution of holiday vouchers, and the administration of [word indistinct].

The participants will sign a memorandum on the talks. The eight- hour negotiations have thus concluded, and work can commence at Markushegy.

Miners' Strike Ends; Work Resumes

LD0407074890 Budapest MTI in English 0624 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 4 (MTI)—The two-day strike by miners of the Markushegy plant of the Oroszlany collieries came to an end on Tuesday night.

The delegation of the mine's strike committee returned from their visit to Budapest in the evening hours on Tuesday. The delegates' account on results of negotiations held at the Ministry of Industry and Trade, was acclaimed by their fellow-miners, who have been waiting idly during the day.

Miners voted in favour of the proposal not to hold any strikes until March 31, 1991, if their demands are fully met. After the Mintue [as received] meeting miners of the evening shift took up work and the others returned home.

Industry Minister Bod Outlines Energy Policy

LD0307092690 Budapest MTI in English 0842 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Budapest, July 3, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary needs Western help and substantial foreign working capital in order to develop an environment-friendly energy policy quickly and effectively, said the Hungarian minister of trade and industry, Mr Peter Akos Bod, at a recent conference here.

The minister stated that the state does not wish to continue its monoply on the energy sector, and pointed out that the new government intends to extend the privatisation scheme to the energy industry and thus open it to foreign investment. A new energy policy is being developed which envisages the coexistence of large energy generation and distribution systems and small, privately- owned ones.

Mr Bod mentioned that government measures to control the state budget deficit had curtailed their R and D spending, a further reason for the need for foreign capital.

The cutback in R and D expenditure has lead to a suspension of research into renewable energy sources, the potential of which has not been fully tapped in Hungary.

Some 7.6 million tonnes of agricultural by-products, such as straw, wood shavings, maize stalks, etc., could be used to generate 70 petajoules of energy a year in Hungary. Only 2.5 petajoules were actually generated from these sources in 1988, plus 25 petajoules from burning firewood. This represents only a fraction of the country's annual energy consumption of 1,350 petajoules.

Skubiszewski Views Future Polish-German Treaty

AU0207134190 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 Jun 90 p 6

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Krzysztof Leski; place and date not given: "The Treaty With the Germans Does Not Have To Be Initialed"]

[Text] [Leski] How should we officially resolve the issue of the Polish-German border?

[Skubiszewski] The responsibility of the Four Powers for the whole of Germany (including Berlin, which from 1945 has had its own separate status), means that it also applies to the peaceful settlement of Germany's postwar borders (peace settlement). These borders were not settled in one document, but in numerous international treaties, because a peace conference on Germany was never held. At present, faced with reunification, the Polish-German border has to be confirmed in a treaty between the two neighbors. The matter also lies in the power of the Four Powers.

[Leski] One of Poland's chief concerns was to initial a treaty with the Germans before they unite. Does the Foreign Affairs Ministry feel that Poland's border could be threatened after reunification if we do not initial a treaty? Do you think that we can abandon this demand before the "two plus four" meeting in Paris fixed for 17 July?

[Skubiszewski] Initialing was not a main demand. Reunification is taking place much faster than the world could have imagined. It is important to keep talking about a future Polish-German treaty. We have already been able to discuss several draft norms relating to the border issue together with our GDR and FRG colleagues. This was very important and particularly useful.

The resolutions of both German parliaments on the border passed on 21 June have created a very favorable climate for further discussion. The treaty will be signed after reunification. In order to initial a text, the text has to be agreed and one never knows when that might happen. Poland was conscious of this procedural aspect right from the very start. It could not have been otherwise. The results of the talks may take a different form than the initialed document. International law and the actual practice adopted by states create various possibilities. We are, and have always been, flexible in the matter of procedure.

The lack of initialing, therefore, does not pose any sort of threat for our borders. We have received the declarations of both German parliaments and governments that the border is final in its present form. Four authoritative international agreements were cited. I would like to recall all our efforts in this matter since 28 November 1989, that is to say, since Chancellor Kohl's speech on reunification. As a result we already have a favorable starting position in this crucial matter, even before the reunification.

[Leski] On this issue, Poland approached as many countries as possible for support. Our diplomatic offensive was seen by Bonn as showing a total lack of trust. Was the campaign worthwhile? Did it have a place in the concept of creating a joint Polish-German community of interests?

[Skubiszewski] It is wrong to say total lack of trust. These are extreme views and because of their extreme nature they do not reflect the truth. We have to dispel doubts and shadows. They have persisted for a long time and one hears about them all the time. If our diplomatic endeavors were unfavorably received by some parties, then that is too bad. Every minister of foreign affairs tries to protect the interests of his country. The settlement of our demands lies in the interests of both Europe and Germany, in the same degree. Chancellor Kohl admitted it in his speech of 21 June. The border issue was not brought up by Poland. Its appropriate solution will go into foring the foundations for the creation of a Polish-German community of interests.

Assesses FRG-GDR Economic Union

AU0307154290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Jun-1 Jul 90 p 1

[Krzysztof Skubiszewski commentary: "The Effects of Monetary Union"]

[Text] 1. The GDR-FRG State Treaty on the establishment of monetary, economic, and social union comes into force on 1 July 1990. It is a treaty of fundamental importance for the unification of Germany. The establishment of a monetary, economic, and social union between the two German states will entail consequences for Poland. In particular, our economic relations with the GDR, especially trade, will undergo a serious change.

2. The Polish Government's position on this issue was set out in the memorandum that I handed over to the ambassadors of the FRG and GDR on 15 June 1990. The issue is the subject of intensive talks between the relevant ministries of the Polish Republic and the GDR. Talks with the FRG or talks involving both German states are also needed.

3. In particular I believe that there are two points that merit attention:

—First, there exist many economic ties between Poland and the GDR from which both sides have derived valuable experience. I believe that the positive accomplishments that there are should be preserved and transferred to relations between Poland and a united Germany.
ment believes that the elimination of the division of Germany will contribute to the building of European unity. We have also drawn attention, however, to the

fact that consideration must also be accorded the economic interests of neighboring states.

4. Ensuring that those international agreements between Poland and the GDR that are in force at present will continue to be respected by a united Germany is an important issue. Especially in the economic sphere, solutions should not be applied unilaterally, by means of faits accomplis, but should be the product of joint negotiations. The present state of trade between the GDR and the Republic of Poland should not deteriorate; in any case, that is what we are seeking, although we know how great the difficulties are.

5. Looking to the future, the Polish Government sees an opportunity and a need for the establishment of two zones adjacent to the Polish-German border. One of them, on the Polish side, would aid the free movement of people, goods, and services. A zone of this kind, equipped with the essential infrastructure, would not only aid mutual cooperation, but would also assist German transit to other states and transit between those states and Germany. Foreign investment would be needed in respect of this.

The second zone, on the German side, would cover the territory of the GDR and would be of a temporary kind (several years). Restrictions on Polish imports would be eliminated in this zone, restrictions that would otherwise inevitably follow from the economic union of the two German states and from the incorporation of the GDR economic system into the free market economy of the FRG.

Skubieszewski Gives 'Notes' to Foreign Ambassadors

Satisfied With German Border Resolutions

LD0307214290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has passed on to the ambassadors of the GDR and the FRG notes from the government of the Polish republic that reply to the resolutions, earlier notified by the FRG and GDR governments, made by the parliaments of both German states announcing that the treaty between a unified Germany and Poland will confirm the existing Polish-German border in its current course. The resolutions indicate the inviolability of the border, formulate the obligation to respect sovereignty and territorial integrity, and also stress the lack of territorial claims. The Polish notes stress that the government of the Polish Republic has received with satisfaction both resolutions as confirming by law the international character of the Polish-German border on its current course, and also the declaration that this stance will find expression in the said treaty. Significant talks are yet to be held on these matters before the unification of Germany.

Letters to Economic Summit Participants

LD0307215690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has passed on to the ambassadors of Japan, Canada, the FRG, the United States, Great Britain, and Italy and also the charge d'affaires of France letters from Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the leaders of these states who will be deliberating at the summit in Houston on 11 July. Prime Minister Mazowiecki in the letters asks the participants of the economic summit to concern themselves during the deliberations with the matter of the permanent reduction of the servicing of the Poland's international debt.

The prime minister expresses at the same time the readiness for wide cooperation in seeking a solution acceptable to all interested governments. He also indicates the significance of a positive resolution of this problem for the success of the reconstruction of the Polish reform.

Skubiszewski Assesses 1950 Zgorzelec Treaty

LD0507095390 Warsaw PAP in English 2103 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski delivering a speech in Frankfurt On Oder in connection with the 40th anniversary of the Zgorzelec treaty said in part:

Forty years ago, on July 6, Poland and the GDR signed the Zgorzelec treaty on the demarcation of the set and existing Polish-German state border.

It was an act of great signicicance. It meant the recognition of territorial changes in Polish-German relations after the year 1945. The border on the Odra and Nysa [Oder Neisse] Rivers became a permanent element of the European order.

The 40th anniversary of the Zgorzelec anniversary falls in a special period. Central and Eastern Europe is in a state of deep transformations. Poland had an important role in their initiation. There appears a real prospect for the reconstruction of European unity.

Poland was first among Central and East European states to recognize the natural right of the German nation to self-determination and state unity. We are of the opinion that the final overcoming of European division cannot take place without the unification of Germany.

We wish to see in German unity a vital stabilization factor on our continent. This is favoured by tripartite will of Poland, the GDR and the FRG to confirm the international-legally binding character of the Polish-German border in its current shape in a treaty between Poland and the United Germany.

Delegation Meets Two-Plus-Four Participants

LD0407220390 Warsaw PAP in English
2105 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Berlin, July 4—A Polish delegation met in Berlin today with the political directors of foreign ministries of the four superpowers and two Germanys to discuss the Polish border question before the "two-plus-four" meeting in Paris this July 17 to be attended by Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

The Polish delegation was treated as an equal partner while presenting its stand. Resolutions adopted by two German parliaments on the Polish western border were positively assessed by all delegations. The meeting opined that there were good prospects for a successful end of the Paris meeting.

The Berlin meeting was the first stage of the implementation of Prime Minister Mazowiecki's proposal to include Poland in this part of the two-plus-four talks which will refer to Poland's security following the unification of two Germanys.

Katyn Committee Asks for International Observers

LD0207185990 Warsaw PAP in English
1606 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—The independent historic committee for the investigation of Katyn crimes turned with an urgent appeal to Governments of Poland and the Soviet Union to invite, as observers, International Red Cross experts to the exhumation and identification of bodies of Polish officers and soldiers murdered by NKVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and buried in a forest near Kharkov, planned for July 20 of this year.

The committee also appealed for the exhumation to be carried out solely by Polish hands in Kharkov as well as at other sites of mass graves being revaled in the Soviet Union.

USSR To Reveal Truth About Officers

LD0307224890 Warsaw PAP in English
2004 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Kiev, July 3—In a conversation with PAP's correspondent the deputy chief of the Ukrainian KGB, General Georgi Kovtun has spoken about the fates of Polish officers, inmates of the Starobelsk camp.

Asked when the USSR would reveal to Polish historians all documents explaining the circumstances of extermination of Polish officers interned in Starobelsk, including the testimonies of witnesses and the information about all the persons employed in the district bodies of NKVD in Kharkov and other cities on the break of 1930's and 1940's, General Kovtun said that by virtue of special agreement on cooperation between prosecutors' offices of Poland and USSR, it would take place when the investigation in the case has been completed.

There are unquestionable proofs that all Poles were transported to Kharkov. It is still unknown according to what rules individual groups were formed though known are exact numbers of those sent from Starobelsk. Everyday, some 200 officers, i.e. three carriages were sent away. From a side-track in Kharkov they were driven by cars to so called inner prison in the NKVD headquarters in Chernyshevski St. and the inmates were killed with a shot in the back of the head in the prison's basement, General Kovtun said.

Soviet Army To Pay for Upkeep in Dollars

LD2906225190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 29 Jun 90

[Interview with Dariusz Ledworowski, deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation, by Anna Andrezejewska on economic delegation's return from Moscow; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Andrzejewska] Mr. Minister, most probably the greatest revelation of the last ten years is the fact that the Soviet Armies will pay for their stay in Poland in dollars.

[Ledworowski] This is because, with CEMA prices and the ruble-dollar exchange rate as they are, increasingly our state budget was having to pay for the supply of meat and vegetables for the Soviet Armies, and after putting our economy on a market footing last year, those issues had already become a very sore point. It got to a situation where nearly half of some expenditures had to be directly financed by the state budget. We agreed that the Soviet Armies will be financed by the Soviets in dollars, and the purchases of all goods, everything from parsnips to meat, would be agreed according to world prices.

[Andrzejewska] When will that start, minister?

[Ledworowski] It will be as of 1 January this year. We agreed...

[Andrzejewska, interrupting] Thus in arrears.

[Ledworowski] ...That now. However, it will be converted and the Soviet Union will pay in dollars for the supplies issued already. That is because we had to arrange that matter as quickly as possible, as it was a sensitive one.

Documents on China, KGB, Walesa Released

LD0307211890 Warsaw PAP in English
1947 GMT 3 Jul 90

["KPN Reveals Sensational Documents"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 3—At a press conference here today, Krzysztof Krol, the editor-in-chief of OPINIA weekly issued by the Confederation for Independent Poland (KPN) disclosed documents of the Ministry of Internal affairs passed to him by a secret informer.

The first of the presented documents dated Sept. 16, 1989 concerns "The tactics of KOR's [Social Self Defense Committee] left wing vis-a-vis Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Government." Another one from August 1989 presents "the evolution of the internal situation within the Democratic Party [DP] in the light of cabinet forming." Two other documents concern Lech Walesa: a note from August 16, 1989 speaks of the situation in the DP leadership upon talks with Lech Walesa while a short information focuses on the invigoration of work of former director of the Polish section of the Radio free Europe, Zdzislaw Najder during Lech Walesa's visit to the FRG.

Presented was also a document of September 21, 1989 concerning "Further details of China's interest in purchasing in Poland of special equipment—including cars equiped with water cannons and tear gas. The last of presented documents, undated but it is possible to guess from its context that it was coming from the beginning of August 1989, discusses "some aspects of the situation in the opposition structures."

The latest issue of OPINIA of this July 5 carries a document which reveals the "demand" of the Soviet KGB for information and analysis, in the context of the decisions taken during a visit of a KGB delegation in Poland between Sept. 25-28

During the conference, participating journalists could see duplicates of those documents. Krol said that the originals in his possession would be handed over to the Tribunal of State and the minister of justice.

Asked to comment on the documents presented during the press conference, press spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs Col. Wojciech Garstka said: "until I see the documents and check them, I have nothing to say on the subject."

Walesa Holds Meeting With Mlawa Farmers 3 Jul

LD04070257?0 Warsaw PAP in English
2206 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Mlawa, July 3—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa arrived in Mlawa near Ciechanow today to meet with local farmers.

Two weeks earlier a local dairy cooperative was blocked by milk producers dissatisfied over procurement prices of milk. Then the blockade spread onto the region's main highway. The farmers agreed to suspend the protest action till July 3 after Walesa had joined in to solve the conflict. Farmers were waiting for government decisions concerning farmers' postulates.

During a meeting of farmers from a dozen or so voivodships with Lech Walesa at a local dairy cooperative here, the sides stressed a very difficult financial situation of the cooperative in Mlawa which has showed a loss of 3.7 billion zlotys already this year. This has a direct influence on procurement prices of milk.

The head of Solidarity of Private Farmers Gabriel Janowski stressed that without solving problems of agriculture, it would be impossible to solve problems of the country.

Chairman of the Polish Peasant Party PSL Roman Bartoszcze taking part in the meeting said during a heated discussion in Mlawa that the conflict between the government and farmers was inevitable but that forms of the protest should be discussed. He announced that at a meeting of the PSL's Supreme Council tomorrow, he will lodge a proposal that ministers, members of PSL, should withdraw from the government. He added that the protest should be suspended till Saturday.

The proposal was supported by Lech Walesa who stated, however, that the decision on the suspension of the protest action should be taken by farmers alone. Solidarity leader invited five representatives of farmers taking part in the Mlawa protest for a meeting at the Gdansk shipyard this Sunday. "I came here to help solve the conflict. This meeting will show the world that Walesa does not destabilize the country," he said.

Members of the protest committee of farmers in Mlawa and the Presidium of the National Council of solidarity of Private Farmers resolved to leave for Warsaw today with the proposal of talks with members of the government.

Lech Walesa and the protesting farmers pledged to wait for the results of the talks.

Farmers Suspend Protest Action

LD0407084590 Warsaw PAP in English
0732 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Mlawa, July 4—A farmers' delegation made up of members of the Presidium of the Rural Solidarity and of the protest committee returned to Mlawa early this morning after talks with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki held in Warsaw last night.

The farmers said the talks had failed to produce expected results but, showing good will, they resolved to suspend their protest action till next Saturday, that is till talks with the government begin.

It was announced that delegations from different provinces will stage a demonstration in Warsaw on Saturday to which Lech Walesa was also invited.

If Saturday talks fail to produce solutions satisfactory to farmers, all roads are to be blocked for an hour at noon next Monday in a national protest.

Mazowiecki Receives Farmers Delegation 4 Jul

LD0407075990 Warsaw PAP in English 0649 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here on Tuesday a delegation of farmers with leader of Rural Solidarity, Senator Gabriel Janowski, the government press office has announced.

The premier told the delegation about his intervention to distribute the means assigned by the Council of Ministers from the central budget to compensate for delays in payments for milk delivered by farmers by the end of this week.

Discussed were also issues connected with talks between the government and farmer's unions and organizations scheduled for Saturday, July 7.

Mazowiecki Sends Letters to Solidarity Figures

LD0407130190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki has sent a letter to Solidarity deputy chairman in the Gdansk Shipyard, Zbigniew Lis; the Solidarity chairman in the Gdansk Repair Yard, Stanislaw Pszczolkowski, and the chairman of this union at the Northern Shipyard, Krzysztof Zmuda. In this letter, the premier cited the basic tasks of all those who fought for a democratic Poland as concern for the authority and stability of the institutions and mechanisms of our still fragile, just developing democracy. This aim, particularly given Poland's difficult and responsible situation, cannot be served by the accusations contained in the letter inviting deputies and senators of the citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group and myself to the meeting of 8 July, Tadeusz Mazowiecki wrote. He added that he would willingly meet with enterprise commissions of the Gdansk shipyards in Gdansk. He explained, however, that the date and form of this meeting should be jointly agreed, which also (?applies to) its location, the health and safety hall, in which the August agreements were signed. At the same time, Tadeusz Mazowiecki hoped that his meeting with Lech Walesa would take place this week. He expressed the desire to celebrate, together with the shipyard workers, the 10th anniversary of the signing of the agreements, and the creation of Solidarity.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Exchange Letters on Meeting

LD0407152190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Report on exchange of letters between Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] Dear Mr. Lech: On Monday afternoon I received your letter sent by fax, containing a reply regarding the necessity and readiness of meeting with you, expressed by me at the Citizens Committee meeting on Sunday. At the same time, your letter was presented to the foreign and domestic press, before I had the opportunity of taking a position regarding it. My intention expressed on Sunday was clear. What I had in mind was for you and me, in the situation that has arisen, to make an effort not so much to conceal our differences but to show concern and responsibility, so that unavoidable conflicts can occur without destroying the common good of Poland and the joint achievement of Solidarity. I would like the subject of our talk to concern issues of the greatest importance to Poland, concerning the shape and the (?roads) to building Polish democracy. I would like, therefore, for this to be a serious talk, which we would conduct in a calm atmosphere.

Your proposal, sir—we read in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's letter to Lech Walesa—to conduct these talks on the occasion of the meeting at the shipyard, does not, of course, create such conditions, first because, as you well know, sir, the meeting at the shipyard was called in an atmosphere of attack on the citizens' parliamentary floor group and also on the government, conducted under the slogan of the apparent construction of a monopoly; second, because public polemics, which I will not back away from if these are indispensable, will only intensify the existing situation; and third, finally, because the common roots that you mention in this letter and also the shipyard are equally dear to me. Neither you nor I, Mr. Lech, have a moral right to use a return to one's roots as an element of pressure. In essence, it is a question of whether our conversation is to be a conversation and a search for ways to calm social tensions, or a duel that will exacerbate them.

I propose, sir, continued Tadeusz Mazowiecki, that we should conduct this conversation in calm conditions. It could take place this coming Saturday afternoon, or next week. Regarding the meeting site, I propose we take up Archbishop Dabrowski's proposal, offering his readiness to host such talks. I expect that you will seriously consider, with goodwill, what I have written. If you accept the proposal expressed here, sir, the details of its implementation can be settled between our secretariats.

[signed] With greatest respect and best wishes, Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

In turn, Lech Walesa wrote in reply: Dear Mr. Prime Minister: Thank you very much for your letter and the remarks in it concerning the possibilities and conditions for our meeting. I am convinced that a meeting precisely on Sunday, 8 July, proposed by the Gdansk shipyards, will give us the opportunity to establish a time and place convenient to both of us.

[signed] With respect and best wishes, Lech Walesa.

Walesa Assesses National Debt, Solidarity

AU2906143990 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 29 Jun 90 pp 1-2

["B.B."-signed report: "Walesa: I Will Have To Be President"]

[Text] Vienna—"I do not want to become president, but I will have to be president because I cannot dodge my responsibility for the country," the chairman of the Polish "Solidarity" trade union told journalists in Wien-Schwechat [Vienna's Airport] on Thursday [28 June]. Lech Walesa is in Austria for a two-day visit. Together with Vice Chancellor Josef Riegler, he saw off an Austrian convoy of relief goods to Poland.

Walesa caused amusement when he said that it is currently very difficult in East Europe to hold a presidential office, and added that "it is nice to be president in Austria." He said that his statement that Poland needs to have a "president with an axe" has been misinterpreted: "The axe is necessary to clear the road from the post-communist jungle, not in order to make heads roll."

At Vienna's Austria Center yesterday evening, Walesa opened a four-day symposium organized by the Institute of Human Sciences. In his speech, he stressed that the West, which "has a moral responsibility for the consequences of the Yalta Conference," must deal with debt repayment in a tolerant way.

He said that after all, the creditors of the East European reform countries were ready, until recently, to pay "the highest financial contributions to protect Western civilization from the specter of communism."

Walesa said that Central Europe's road to democracy is threatened by many factors: by the return of new power monopolies, no matter in whose hands, and by uncontrollable outbreaks among the people if the reform process were to be interrupted.

Walesa said that the road to democratizing Central Europe would lead to a united Europe; there should "soon be more than just 12 golden stars" on its flag.

Walesa also distanced himself from the statement attributed to him that Germany must "be wiped off the map" if it destabilizes Europe again. He said that a "politically biased interviewer" had put this sentence into his mouth. He said that he had a positive opinion on the unification of the two German states.

Walesa said that the problem of the Polish black marketeers is "a shame." He believes, however, that it cannot be solved by prohibition but only by eliminating the causes—Poland's economic difficulties.

The trade union leader views the possible split of the "Solidarity" movement coolly: "If Solidarity wants to remain beautiful it will have to split." Walesa is in favor of political and trade unionist pluralism. He says, however, that it could take 50 years for Poland to be as pluralist as the West.

Walesa says that he does not belong to any political wing, he only belongs to the "group of people who go fishing."

Mazowiecki Stresses Poland's Debt Problem

LD0407195890 Warsaw PAP in English 1620 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—In order to stabilize Poland's economy, to balance its foreign trade, to achieve full convertibility of the zloty and to obtain private capital, the economy should not be burdened by a debt service greater than 2 percent of the current level of Poland's debt. Such a solution is possible only with the debt's permanent and considerable reduction. Premier Mazowiecki has turned with this issue to heads of states who are to take part in an economic summit in Houston between July 9 and 11.

Poland's hard currency debt reached about $42 billion. Over 40 percent of that sum are unpaid interests. If not for this, Poland's debt would be only $26 billion, that is $2 billion more than by the end of 1980 when the debt already presented a serious problem. In 1980, the debt constituted for 330 percent of Poland's annual exports, in 1989 as much as 540 percent.

Poland's biggest creditors are the FRG (20 percent), France (11 percent), Austria (8 percent) and Great Britain (8 percent). The service of the debt has cost Poland $46 billion between 1971 and 1989, while the value of real credits obtained in that period of time were close to the sum paid in virtue of their service.

Walesa on Ambitions To Become President

AU0107194890 Vienna KURIER in German 30 Jun 90 p 5

[Interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa by Hans Rauscher; place and date not given: "Lech Walesa—Superstar?"]

[Text] [Rauscher] You have stated that Poland needs a strong president. Why?

[Walesa] Because we are in a transitional phase from a dictatorship toward democracy. The old communist structures still exist. They must be removed more quickly. While we are discussing everything in a democratic manner, the communists control everything.

[Rauscher] So you want to become a strong president with sweeping powers?

[Walesa] I do not want to become president. I only described what a president should be like. Given the current situation in Poland, however, I will have to become president. I will run for president if I am invited to do so. I will not govern against democracy. I will support it.

[Rauscher] Many people are afraid of an authoritarian figure, such as Poland's prewar President Pilsudski.

[Walesa] The question is: Who is the better man in a difficult situation? A chess champion or a boxing champion?

Boni, Walesa on Role of Citizens Committee

LD0107083690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1814 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Remarks by Mazowsze Solidarity head Michal Boni and Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa at meeting of Citizens Committees on 30 June; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Boni] Ladies and gentlemen, I wanted to point out that I am speaking as a member of the Solidarity National Commission, but not as a representative of it. Members of the national commission hold various views about what is happening in Poland at present.

I wanted to say that this is a difficult interim period and that we are all being thrashed because of it. Demagogy overcomes appropriate arguments and programs, but identification and personal loyalty replace the real mechanisms of a political division. I am an advocate of a political break-up, as we really are at such a moment when those divisions will occur and are occuring. At the same time, one should remember that the break-up should be accompanied by a wise political idea—how to break-up and why? What we have been observing for several weeks, which was inspired by Lech Walesa and was done very well, unfortunately is not surviving the test of time. We have not matured to that idea which Walesa sold us, and which he is today saying, that he is pulling us forward to these changes. That is what he said at the beginning, without knowing himself what their effect will be. A coincidental result of that pulling could be that we will haplessly pull him to one side, which one I do not know, nor do I know whether it will be good for that moment and that time in Poland. A game is being played over the Solidarity logo. A game is also being played in the Citizens Committee [KO]. If a few months ago I was able to say, and I say this quite sincerely to the KO's that it was Solidarity as a union that wanted to take possession of the KO's then sometimes I have the impression that various political groups would like to take posession of those KO's and take them for themselves. Do not let anyone take you.

The future of the KO's, and that is how I see it as a trade unionist, lies in activity which enables us, the union and KO's functioning locally, to act in a partner-like manner in various important specific matters. Everywhere in the world there is unemployment, there are labor markets, and restructuring. In small local communities in such a situation, the trade union looks for allies in the form of groups of citizens, which are organized. That is why it is so necessary that there are KO's.

I will say one more thing; in 1980 we went through a workers revolution, and in 1990 we are going through a citizens revolution. If we want the awareness that Poles have gained as working people to become also the Poles' civic awareness, then we must help each other in this. At the moment we are mixing up the roles, as trade unionists, as KO activists and as people who identify with defined political groups. On all these roles, on all these levels, and in these roles we talk about Solidarity, we are not capable of separating them as we lack ideas for that. Let us find that idea, let us find that idea, as is imperative for us. The union must be a union, the KO's citizens committees, and political groups political groups.

That is why I am proposing, as I said at the national commission roundtable, although that is a condemned word at present, a roundtable of the Solidarity movement, so that a wise idea for the political division can be devised, so as to save the Polish economy, so as to divide, not to create a front of national unity, but to find an idea for this difficult interim period. At this roundtable, such a forum could be formulated in the KO's attached to Lech Walesa; there ought to be a representation of Solidarity, the KO's, important political groups, which derive from Solidarity and our parliament, and also naturally to some degree representatives of the government, but they are somewhere present in all of this, whether as deputies or as important political figures.

Lech, that is a task for you, because you are the creative leader and the person, who survived, not on your own, but with us all. Through all the 10 years you were the symbol of one Solidarity. Do that today.

[Walesa] I have after all, more or less said the same, but not so neatly. How to get through to a democratic and pluralistic Poland together at the discussion. Thus that is the same, but I did not put it so bluntly.

Walesa Proposal for Citizens Committees Viewed

AU0207170790 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 28 Jun 90 p 2

[Ernest Skalski commentary: "Self-Liquidation"]

[Text] The dilemmas that face the local Citizens Committees tend to be presented in various ways. Supporters of the Najder-Walesa concept, state that the committees that open themselves up to other political parties will succeed in strengthening pluralism and will guard against the creation of a new monopoly. I wish to present an opposing point of view.

The Citizens Committees movement, preserving—with its rich internal diversity—its "Solidarity" character, can continue to remain a force that organizes political life in Poland. This means the possibility of winning the next elections and the formation of a government based on a majority in the Sejm, which fact would guarantee an essential stability, crucial for the further development of a state subject to the rule of law and economic reform. Other political forces would receive a proportional place in the Sejm according to their actual public support secured in elections.

By altering the citizens movement into discussion clubs of various political forces and parties, which previously have not managed to secure any clear electoral support, would deprive us of this chance. I do not think that the concept of turning the Citizens Committee movement into a lot of mini-parliamentary clubs will produce any serious political forces within a short space of time, and certainly not before the next elections. Vague political programs will not become more attractive simply because they will be debated within the committees. They will not gain the interest of the wider public, and this lack of interest will "rebound" on the committees themselves.

Walesa's conception really means the self-liquidation of the Citizens' Committees movement.

Planning Office Publishes Economic Figures

AU2906142190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Jun 90 p 2

["K.B."-signed report: "Facts and Assessments"]

[Excerpt] What does this month's economic situation look like? The Central Planning Office provides regular assessments in the form of a report prepared for the Council of Ministers Economic Committee every 10 days, and in a biweekly report that has been appearing over the past few months on the basis of bank and enterprise surveys.

The first of the above mentioned documents, containing data up to 21 June, reveals that the budget surplus has fallen from 7.2 trillion zlotys [Z] on 31 May to Z5.7 trillion on 21 June. This is the result of increased budget spending since the beginning of June.

Average interest rates on credits have balanced each other out, and commercial banks are beginning to compete with each other in the range of services they offer. An example is the Lombard credits which the Bank of Gdansk is now offering.

Since the end of May, the procurement price of milk has fallen by 2 percent, pork livestock by 3 percent, rye by 5 percent, and wheat by 6 percent. Only the price of pork livestock has increased, by an average of 1 percent.

Average retail prices of meat differed from the prices at the end of May by plus or minus 2 percent. Although the price of milk fell by 2 percent, that of butter increased by 6 percent on average. The price of butter in Olsztyn Voivodship increased by 33 percent, in Poznan Voivodship by 20 percent, in Koszalin Voivodship by 18 percent, and in Ostroleka Voivodship by 16 percent.

Concerning industrial goods, the greatest price increases involved synthetic men's suits, jeans, and school notebooks, each of which went up by 55 percent. Concerning services, the greatest price increase occurred in hairdressers' salons, 12 percent.

On 10 June the foreign trade balance amounted to 2126.2 million rubles concerning trade with the first area of payments, and $1775.8 million concerning trade with the second area of payments. This is the result of an increase in exports and a fall in imports to and from both areas of payment.

The demand for fuel and energy is fully covered. Average coal extraction in a 24 hour period amounts to 565,000 tonnes, including 18,000 tonnes on Saturdays. Gasoline supplies are sufficient to last 13 days, despite increased sales. [passage omitted]

Trade Unions Criticize Price Hikes, Reforms

LD0207223390 Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—The presidium of the board of the Solidarnosc Silesian and Dabrowa Gornicza region today issued a statement saying that the annual drop in industrial production and in real wages, planned by the government, were considerably exceeded. The pursuing of the reform was a heavy burden on shoulders of Polish society. The reserves of human patience and agreement to further reduction of living standards near exhaustion, they said. [sentence as received]

Also, the presidium of the Federation of Miners' Unions today issued a statement voicing concern over tensions and conflicts seizing numerous social and professional groups.

It will be impossible to solve these conflicts by an intervention of police troops as was the case against protesting farmers on June 29, they stressed.

Meantime, the press office of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) conveyed the statement to PAP which reads in part: The introduction by the government yesterday of price hikes, despite the opposition by the OPZZ trade unions, will further and seriously burden household budgets.

We state with regret the fact that the Solidarnosc trade union organizations rejected participation in a joint meeting proposed by Alfred Miodowicz. We are convinced that if the meeting mentioned above had been held, these price hikes would not have been introduced. That is why we uphold our proposals of joint meeting: Janowski, Jurczyk, Maksymiuk, Walesa and Miodowicz.

Council of Ministers Meet on Banking Reform

LD0207214190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] The reform of the banking system is one of the subjects discussed at today's Council of Ministers meeting. The government has accepted the main directions of the changes which assume, for example, a liberal

policy in creating new banks, attracting the largest possible national and foreign capital, and also the restructuring of existing state banks into joint stock companies with the state having a minority holding.

The Council of Ministers also supported the idea of a basic reshaping of the banking infrastructure—for example the development of a separate telecommunications system and banking computerization.

Polish Papers Reportedly in 'Gigantic' Debt

AU2906141890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Jun 90 p 2

["ab"-signed report: "The RSW"]

[Text] The Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] is due to be dissolved on 6 July. The RSW Liquidation Commission in charge of it has achieved a profit of 105 billion zlotys [Z] over the past four months. That looks good on paper, but in fact, according to a report by the Culture Committee, most RSW components are either already bankrupt or on the threshold thereof. Their financial difficulties are illustrated by gigantic financial arrears.

Book distributors are not paying the publishers, the publishers are not paying the printers, the printers are not paying for their paper, and in addition all of these bodies are not paying their income tax and dividends to the Main Administration, which is making it impossible for the Liquidation Commission to discharge its obligations vis-a-vis the state budget punctually.

TRYBUNA is firmly in the lead when it comes to the size of the debt in the past four months—Z7 billion, which is now being paid by the Social Democratic Party. Behind TRYBUNA is POLITYKA, with a debt of Z940 million, followed by KOBIETA I ZYCIE (Z850 million), CHLOPSKA DROGA (Z825 million), and PERSPEKTYWY (Z480 million). Out of a total of 160 dailies and periodicals, half of them are in financial arrears.

The "Book and Knowledge" Publishing House, Unia Press Agency (headed until recently by Jerzy Urban) and Central Photographic Agency together share a debt of Z470 million. The Press and Publications Distribution Center has incurred debts amounting to Z500 million.

Of the 23 press publishers, eight are in financial arrears. Apart from "Trybuna," they are: The Contemporary Publishing House, "Sztandar Mlodych," the Bialystok Publishing House, Olsztyn Publishing House, the Youth Publications Agency, the Press Office of Malopolska, and the Kielce Press Publishing House.

Forum of Democratic Right Established

LD0207144190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] In Krakow, a group—the Forum of the Democratic Right [Forum Prawicy Demokratycznej]—has been formed. The participants in the meeting expressed concern at the brutalization of the political struggle and made it their aim to reinstate a democratic political culture in Poland.

PPS Leaders Resign From Citizens Committee

LD0307154490 Warsaw PAP in English 1459 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Warsaw, July 3—Leaders of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) Wladyslaw Kunicki-Goldfinger, Jan Jozef Lispki and Andrzej Malanopwski resigned from their membership in the Citizens Committee at teh chairman of the Solidarity trade union.

We are convinced that the committee has well fulfilled its tasks during the 1980's, especially during preparations for the round table negotiations and the June elections in 1989, stated PPS leaders in a letter to Lech Walesa.

We are of the opinion that further functioning of the committee is needless. We are also of the opinion that local citizens committees should not transform themselves into pseudo-parties or pseudo-federations playing a role of a party.

We would like our stand to be seen not as our declaration in favour of a side in the dispute inside the citizens movement referring to the ethos of solidarity. The PPS wishes to maintain its independence in respect to both sides of the dispute, stressed the three.

Survey: Poles 'Display Great Hopes' for Future

AU0307092290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Jun 90 p 3

[Jan Rokita report: "The Poles' View of the Future—The Results of an American Survey"]

[Text] Two sociologists from an American corporation, acting in cooperation with the Public Opinion Research Center and the Economic Opinion Survey Group formed by the Office of the Council of Ministers, have carried out a survey to gauge social moods in Poland. The survey was carried out in April 1990.

The report, several hundreds of pages long, paints a picture of a nation full of hope and fears. The Poles have rejected their entire past, and are looking to the future with an optimism that is never encountered in the West. They expect changes in the future, but they do not know how they will occur, nor what effect they will have on their personal lives. Asked: "How are things in Poland?" half of the respondents said good, one-third did not know, and one-fifth said bad. Inhabitants of large cities

and people with higher education claim that things are going well, but people in small cities and rural areas mainly think things are going wrong. The Poles expect the standard of living to improve somewhat over the next six months, and bigger changes over the next five years. Most of them accept the temporary difficulties. A minority thinks today's difficulties will not lead to a better situation in the future.

In ideological issues, Poles reject communism. As the opposite to communism, they recognize not a capitalist economic system, but the political idea of democracy. Tadeusz Mazowiecki is the most popular government figure, but the people responsible for economic policies are viewed with mixed feelings. The government is given a good assessment, but local officials and the still intact bureaucracy are assessed badly. "Solidarity" is assessed in favorable terms, but its parliamentary club receives a mixed assessment. The core of "Solidarity" is believed to be turning into a new bureaucracy. Dissatisfaction with the local administration is the result of its everlasting connection with the old system of government. About 60 percent of the respondents felt that the system of government has changed for the worse, and that the faces in field offices have not changed.

Privatization is the source of many fears. One-fifth of the respondents felt that it is leading to a take-over of property by foreigners, but about half of the respondents felt that privatization will involve a form of ownership by Polish citizens or workers. Only four percent of the respondents favored ownership by foreigners, 35 percent favored ownership by workers, and 36 percent favored ownership by private Polish capital. Two-fifths of the respondents felt that foreign investments would make Poland richer, and one-quarter felt that foreign investments would lead to a takeover of Poland's assets and their control by foreign capital. 42 percent of the respondents, however, said that one of the greatest dangers Poland is currently facing is the possibility that the West will control us just like the Russians used to do.

The survey reveals that the Poles have no clear idea of what the economy will be like in 10 years' time. Two-thirds could not say what country today Poland will resemble in 10 years' time.

An extensive part of the survey was devoted to "Solidarity." Most of the respondents merged "Solidarity" and the government into one whole, and wanted things to remain that way because this arrangement may take the place of the Russo-communist one. All those who spoke favorably of the changes also thought well of the "Solidarity" government. But they could not explain how it is that "Solidarity" is a government, a union, a nation, and a citizen all at the same time, or how "Solidarity" can be a political and economic leadership at the same time. The Poles claim that "Solidarity" was strong enough to get rid of the old system, but is not strong enough to erase the past. People believe that "Solidarity," which brought Poland change and created freedom, hopes, and expectations, must assume responsibility for "teaching" people to understand the things that are happening and how to live with them. From this jumble of ambiguity one must conclude that the more the government and "Solidarity" are capable of being on "our" side, the greater the importance that will be attached to "changes" and "freedom," and the more strength people will have to cope with the present. Hopes for the future will also be greater. In effect, the greater will be the government's and "Solidarity's" ability to govern.

In the analytical part of the survey, the authors seek answers to the question "what to do." Polish society has become confused, and even though it hopes things will improve, it harbors a series of fears of the future, apart from which it feels helpless. People are seeking explanations for many issues in order to face up to the present and find an escape route to the future. They are looking for figures of authority, from whom they expect a definition of reality. They feel it is the government that should help them reconnoiter and overcome the difficulties. But the government's efforts stand a poor chance of success as long as people do not assume responsibility for their own fate and the government does not eliminate the bureaucracy. Pressure ought to be concentrated on establishing and maintaining a very open dialogue between the government and society, so as to strengthen the feeling of responsibility for one's own fate and that of Poland. This contact ought to occur on the personal level, on a man to man basis, and not according to the principle of "this is the government addressing its subjects." There should be dialogue according to the principle that everyone has a voice, and his voice is audible and recognizable. Such an approach will permit a development of respect for oneself, and will encourage a feeling of involvement in the changes in Poland. Then it will be easier to push short-term and long-term objectives through.

The authors of the survey are convinced the Poles display great hopes for the future. Only a few Poles are pessimistic on account of the difficulties they have lived through over the past few months. Those who gave uncertain replies were closer to optimism than to pessimism, but this optimism might disappear if they see no beginning to the end of the difficulties. Opinions on the economic reform are dependent on an understanding of the events taking place. The greater this understanding, the more favorable the opinion on the reform. The positive changes in daily life are consolidating the favorable opinions. Unless the situation with consumer goods improves soon, the Poles might become tired of the government. Therefore the government must reduce society's fears and uncertainty if it is to continue to enjoy the goodwill and support that are essential for the economic changes.

Foreign Ministry Responds to Hungarian Letter

AU0307162390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1506 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Diplomatic Diary: Romania's Foreign Ministry Makes a Few Points"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—In a note remitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Hungary in answer to its note of 26 June 1990, Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes the following points:

I. In connection with the nature, character and course of events in Bucharest over 13-15 June 1990, the Romanian authorities systematically informed the CSCE governments at the most authorised level, including through letters of Romania's prime minister.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry's note seems to ignore these efforts.

However, since in that note reference is made to the provisions of the Vienna Final Act on the human dimension and in order to prove that after the reservations on that act imposed by the former regime were withdrawn Romania is willing to observe all its commitments, the Romanian side supplies the requested information in an appendix in agreement with paragraph one of the chapter on the human dimension of the CSCE of the above-mentioned act.

II. While supplying this information on the basis of the respective provisions of the Vienna Final Act, the Romanian party cannot help noting that a procedure conceived as a constructive element of dialogue to avoid misunderstanding and confusion is used by the Hungarian side as a pretext to make biased assessments that distort the efforts Romania makes or the problems it encounters in its irreversible course to democracy, in a language unsuitable for diplomatic documents and contrary to the CSCE spirit.

In fact, before it has received the information it requests, the Hungarian side takes the liberty to give an "official opinion" and definitive evaluations of the events, and to bring unfounded charges. A haughty tone is used to "call attention" to a state that takes part in the CSCE process in which all partners are equal and no one was given the right to act as arbiter or judge.

In order to prove what it wants to, the Hungarian party starts from isolated facts, taken out of context, and only refers to the events of 14 and 15 June, purposefully omitting the acts of violence on 13 June that were at the origin of those events.

Obviously the move is not aimed to get information. Had the Hungarian party been interested in using the procedure stated in the chapter on the human dimension of the CSCE, it ought to have asked for information first, and only if it were judged unsatisfactory could it have expressed its own point of view.

Under these circumstances, the Romanian party can rightfully ask who fails to comply with the terms of the commitments made in CSCE documents and uses them for confrontation, contrary to their spirit and aims.

III. All the more obvious is the aim of the Hungarian side as the note, starting from the tragic events of 13-15 June in Bucharest unrelated to minorities problems, brings into focus the March events of Tirgu-Mures at a time when calm was restored in that part of the country with the effort of all, and both Romanians and Hungarians try to live in understanding.

The events are so presented as if the feelings of mistrust and suspicion that generated them, with the presence of external factors as well, of which the Hungarian party is fully aware, would have been liked to be revived.

As the work of the recent meeting in Copenhagen underscored, the conception prevailing in Europe on the approach to the minorities' question does in no way sustain the claims of a country to stand for protector of the minorities in other states.

As for the events in Tirgu Mures, the Romanian party is more than anyone else interested in the restoration of calm and peaceful coexistence in the zones where Romanians, Hungarians and other minorities have lived together for centuries. The Romanian Government reported in due time on the course of events. Their assessment by the Hungarian party as "anti-Hungarian attitude of a pogrom nature" are in utter contradiction with the facts.

In its note, the Hungarian party requests that the report drawn up after the events in Tirgu Mures be released. As is known, the Romanian parliamentary forum set up a commission that analyzed the events with the broad participation of the Romanians' and Hungarians' representative organizations. The report has been completed recently and advanced to the newly elected parliament where it is to be analyzed like in any state of law. The elementary rules of decency, let aside the necessity to observe the legal procedure, demand that it should be released after its presentation to the body that ordered it and not before.

In connection with the persons whose names are listed in the note, the Hungarian party, which makes frequent reference to the norms of law, also knows that as long as a person is the subject of a legal case no information associated with the content of that case may be released. Just as inadmissible is the terming as "judicial frame-up" of the case brought before the Romanian judiciary, before the conclusions of the trial are known.

IV. The meeting in Copenhagen emphasized the prevailing wish that any problem of the relations between states in the continent, the most delicate ones included, should be approached in a spirit of understanding, mutual conciliation and respect for the situations each country has to cope with in its own territory. Such problems exist both in Romania and Hungary.

We deplore again the fact that while the Romanian side makes efforts and is resolved to further them for rapprochement, understanding and settlement in this spirit of the extant issues, the Hungarian continues evincing unwillingness to act in this spirit, enhancing confrontation rather than dialogue as civilized states could normally do.

The Romanian party expresses its hope that, by the observance and honest enforcement of the CSCE documents provisions the relations among states in the continent will be improved.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania take this opportunity to reassure the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Hungarian Republic of its high consideration, the note says in conclusion.

Further on Response

AU3007185190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Political Life: June 13-15—The Film of Events" ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—An addendum to a verbal message sent by Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministry of Hungary informs as follows:

1. From April to June 13, 1990 University Square, one of the key areas of Bucharest, was the venue of a unauthorized marathon demonstration, which blocked one of the major thoroughfares in the capital city.

In the beginning, the demonstrators had a number of reasonable claims, linked to a democratic renewal of society.

Throughout that period attempts were made to establish a dialogue with the demonstrators, but they failed, as their major claims only tried to anticipate the results of the democratic elections in preparation. Their major claim after the elections was the resignation of the president, who had been elected with more than 85 percent of the vote, and of the government.

Gradually, the respective area turned into a hotbed of violence, where the law and public order were infringed. There were numerous actions running counter to public order and proper manners and the respective site turned into a refuge for organized crime.

Public opinion showed greater and greater concern over the phenomenon that was growing in central Bucharest. Numerous organizations, associations and individuals asked the authorities to take steps to bring that situation to a halt.

On June 12, 1990, the Prosecutor's Office informed of numerous criminal offences committed in the respective area and of people who took refuge among the demonstrators, asking the government to take the necessary steps.

2. On the morning of June 13, 1990, order-keeping forces acted for the reestablishment of public order, clearing University Square, according to the law. Health authorities saw to the sanitation of the area afterwards.

The aforesaid operations were performed without special incidents.

Most of the people on a hunger strike in the demonstration area went home the same day, with the exception of two individuals who were taken to hospitals in Bucharest upon their request.

3. On June 13 in the afternoon, individuals armed with side weapons and petrol bombs attacked police forces, set fire to buses and trucks and started acts of violence and public disorder.

On the evening of June 13, the extremist elements intensified their acts of violence. The capital's Police Headquarters, the headquarters of the Ministry of the Interior and the Fashion House were attacked and set on fire, with the personnel being blocked inside. Stores and public places were devastated and a substantial number of cars were destroyed, weapons and ammunition were stolen from the Police Headquarters.

The building of the Romanian Television was attacked and devastated, a number of TV editors were either wounded or molested and a large part of the TV equipment was destroyed.

Firemen were prevented from putting the fires out by the same anarchic elements.

Order-keeping forces in Bucharest could not cope with the situation and the Army intervened only much later.

The acts of violence were committed by extremist gangs who were not numerous but who had been prepared in advance, according to a plan aimed at overthrowing the order of law and the government by force.

The obvious aim was to prevent the inauguration of the country's parliament and president, elected during the free elections of May 20, 1990, which was scheduled for June 14.

All political forces represented to the parliament, as well as a number of organizations who had initially supported the protest action, desolidarized themselves from the acts against public order.

4. Under those dramatic circumstances, when order-keeping forces no longer mattered and could not stop the acts of violence, the president elect and the government appealed to the population and not to a certain segment of it—urging them to support the police and the Army, the sole possible way to put an end to the acts of violence and vandalism, also requesting that bloodshed should be avoided.

Answering the appeal were groups of citizens, more particularly, workers in Bucharest and in several counties (Prahova, Buzau, Constanta), as well as the miners in the Jiu Valley.

5. The police and the Army, with the support of the population, initially identified more than 1,000 people suspected of having taken part in the acts of violence. Most of them were released immediately after early inquiries. According to the data released by the prosecutor's bodies, on June 22, 117 people were under arrest and investigation (of which 17 pupils, one student, six intellectuals, 77 unemployed individuals) and 83 were about to be sent to court. Fines and short-term jail sentences were given to 182 people. As many as 72 minors were sent back to their families and 31 were taken to special schools.

The persons who were arrested will be tried according to evidence and they enjoy all legal guarantees.

The delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross were granted access to detention places to visit the arrested persons.

Furthermore, Amnesty International was invited to attend the trials.

6. As an outcome of the acts of violence, on June 18, health units had registered 555 wounded persons, of which 123 were taken to hospital—seven of them in a serious condition. Six people died—of which a worker, stabbed by extremist elements, died of a heart attack on June 13 in the afternoon, another person died because of the blows received during the attack on the television building, and three were shot and their death could not have been caused by order-keeping forces as they had acted with maneuver ammunition.

All the deaths were outcomes of the acts of violence on June 13.

7. Unfortunately, on June 14 and 15, in the process of reestablishing public order by the civilians, persons, not directly linked to the events on June 13, were molested. Furthermore, the headquarters of a number of political parties were devastated.

The government unequivocally delimitated itself from any actions that overstepped the legal framework and expressed its regret that during order-reestablishment actions, in a situation that continued to be confused, citizens were molested and party headquarters attacked. On June 15 the civilian groups were requested to withdraw.

The government agreed to take firm steps for inquiries of those who made themselves guilty of the acts of violence on June 13 and 14 demanding that they should be held responsible. An inquiry was also ordered into the acts of molestation of persons on the day that followed.

In the communique released after its June 16 meeting, the Romanian Government expressed the determination to ensure public order, the free operation of the democratic institutions in the country and freedom of expression by all adequate means.

8. The international reaction to those events was negative. The events of June 14-15, however, were approached as unlinked to those on June 13.

In a letter sent on June 18 to the heads of government of a number of countries and to the UN secretary-general, the prime minister of Romania appealed to caution, to a careful assessment of the events in Romania, so that unilateral, partisan positions be avoided. This alone would be a real support for the development and consolidation of the democratic process in our country.

9. After the meeting, the country's parliament assumed the responsibility to directly control the continuation and consolidation of the process of democratization in Romania, of establishment the state of law, on the basis of the supremacy of law and integral observance of human rights.

In its June 10, 1990 session, the Chamber of Deputies adopted a motion according to which it considers the intervention of order- keeping forces, according to the law, altogether necessary and legitimate, so as to put an end to unauthorized demonstrations which seriously jeopardize the smooth run of life in the capital city.

A Joint Parliamentary Inquiry Commission—of the Senate and of the Chamber of Deputies—was set up including 23 members (15 deputies and eight senators), of which 13 representatives of the National Salvation Front, two of the National Liberal Party, two of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, two of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party and four of other parties represented to the parliament, reflecting its composition, to examine the events occurred over June 13-15 and establish the measure of responsibility.

10. The case of the two Romanian deputies of Hungarian extraction—Zolt Szilagyi and Laszlo Szigmond—was discussed in parliament.

In this connection, the fact is noteworthy that when deputy Geza Domokos referred during the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies to the fact that the two deputies had been "arrested and ill-treated," they were there in the hall, with no signs indicated their having been ill-treated by order-keeping forces.

When other deputies asked them why they had been in University Square at that time and what acts of violence had been committed against them, the two deputies gave no answer.

Foreign Ministry: Hungarians 'Biased'

LD0307220890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] The Romanian Foreign Ministry accuses the Hungarian Government of evaluating the June events in Bucharest in a biased manner. The Bucharest statement is a reply to last week's note from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. The Romanian statement says that the Budapest evaluation, according to which the March events in Tirgu Mures were anti-Hungarian actions of a pogrom-like character, is not true. According to the note, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry diverted attention to the March events at a time when peace has already been reestablished in this region of Romania.

83 Protestors To Be Tried for Inciting Violence

AU0407122190 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1114 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest—Legal proceedings are now being instituted against 83 persons who allegedly participated in political acts of violence over the past month.

Representatives of the conference of the Romanian Students' Association fear that forged evidence will be used in trying their chairman Munteanu. Munteanu is to be indicted for "instigation of violence."

At the same time, the Foreign Ministry absolved the security forces of responsibility for the deaths of three people killed by gunfire. The security forces only used dummy bullets, it was said.

Communique Condemns Human Rights Violations

AU0307202490 Bucharest "22" No. 23 in Romanian 22 Jun 90 p 2

[Communique issued by the Association for the Protection of Human Rights in Romania and of the Romanian Helsinki Committee; place and date not given]

[Text] We, the members of the Association for the Protection of Human Rights in Romania and of the Romanian Helsinki Committee, are fulfilling a moral obligation by most determinedly condemning the serious violation of the most elementary human rights in Bucharest beginning on 13 June 1990.

We believe that in this extremely serious situation of hiding the truth and making use of half measures and of any form of ambiguity can only contribute to the perpetuation and deterioration of the crisis.

We believe that those in power, or a majority of them, have incited groups of armed people to violence against defenseless people and have made use of the state forces of order not to protect the citizens, but to terrorize, molest, and kill them. Thus those in power, or an important part of them, have betrayed the basic interests of the Romanian people, the cultural values of humanity, and have morally eliminated themselves from the political activity in our country.

We believe that part of the press and the management of the radio and television, which lavishly used their poison and bad taste to slander the opposition, including cultural figures whom any European culture would be proud of, have assumed a difficult responsibility in disinforming and confusing the public, and in sowing feud among the ranks of the Romanian people.

We believe that it is imperatively necessary for each man, who has access to power, to seriously examine his conscience and to pledge—in the 11th hour—to renounce the use of force against defenseless people.

We believe that an investigation has to be started immediately to find the people responsible for the atrocities committed, an investigation which should be carried out with the participation of representatives of the students, parties, and groups which were attacked, and with the participation of representatives of the Democratic Union of the Romanies. We believe that it is imperatively necessary for the press and television to correctly report on the atrocities committed on 13, 14, and 15 June, so that the Romanian people may have a correct picture of the events that occurred in Romania.

We express the hope that this wave of suffering that has come upon us will have been the last one on Romania's long road to democracy. We hope that we will be able to regain our balance, the just measure, wisdom, and tolerance which once reigned on our country's soil.

Concern Over Nation's Global Image Noted

AU0507101890 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Jun 90 p 1

[Editorial note: "This Should Not Be Romania's Image in the World!"]

[Excerpt] What the foreign press has been writing about Romania for some time is difficult to reproduce and fills us with deep sorrow. However, we are comforted by the fact that Romania's leadership is seriously concerned about Romania's unfavorable image around the world. The most recent stands taken by our president and prime minister are proof of this.

Therefore, we hope that all of us, the governors and the governed, will now do everything possible to show our country to the world the way it really is. [passage omitted]

Roman, Bulgaria's Lukanov Meet, Discuss Pollution

Roman Comments

AU0407162990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by unidentified reporter in Bucharest on 4 July—recorded]

[Summary From Poor Reception] "The meeting with the Bulgarian prime minister" has been an opportunity to reach understandings on "cooperation in the economic area" and "to rapidly solve problems of an ecological nature, which have given rise to great emotion and fear, among the people both in Giurgiu and in Ruse, linked to the activity of the chemical combine in Giurgiu." Our "consultation, in my view, has taken place in the spirit of the current times: open, constructive, direct, and to the point. At the same time, I am glad to say that this meeting has also been an opportunity for positive cooperation that yielded precise results regarding the problems I mentioned before." Within the "general European context, we believe that relations of good neighborliness between Romania and Bulgaria are important. Within the same European context, it is important that these good neighborly relations be reflected" in "the Balkans in order to dissipate any fears of the European community in general in connection with the situation in the Balkans. Therefore, I am of the same opinion as my colleague, Lukanov, an absolute personality, who emerged in the European political arena along with the disintegration of the totalitarian systems in Central and East Europe, thus, I agree with him on the positive results of this meeting. Thank you."

Lukanov Comments

AU0407163690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Report on interview with Bulgarian Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov by unidentified reporter in Bucharest on 4 July—recorded; Lukanov in Bulgarian with superimposed translation into Romanian]

[Summary From Poor Reception] "To begin with I would like to say that I am in Bucharest for the first time since the events of last December and after the 20 May elections. It has been very important for me to visit the new Romania, which has embarked on the road to democracy and has been able to free itself from dictatorial regime for good. As is known, Bulgaria started along the same road a short time before you and I think that this brings us even closer" and makes our relations "even more sincere and closer."

All these "new elements were felt already during our first meeting with Prime Minister Petre Roman, which took place in Sofia this year. And this was reaffirmed in Bucharest today and during my meeting with President Ion Iliescu, as well as during the talks I conducted with my colleague. Although the problems we discussed were far from simple problems, we examined what was agreed upon in May in Sofia, but now we can say with satisfaction that, despite the difficult electoral period, we have achieved results."

Under the current circumstances, "our economic relations are developing quite well. We have agreed on a number of issues, which may lend our relations stability next year. We believe that we have to thoroughly examine our relations in the other areas as well—in culture, tourism, and inter-human relations, as well as the relations between our foreign ministries and parliaments." These relations will be "the subject of a careful study on the basis of which we will make tangible proposals for further developing and expanding friendly relations between our countries."

Finally, "I would like to say that in the area of ecology we have made tangible and important steps forward both regarding ecological problems in the Ruse-Giurgiu area—a particularly important subject today—and regarding nuclear safeguards and other ecological problems, which are of interests for the public in both Bulgaria and in Romania." I believe that "this visit was necessary and useful and I would like to express special thanks to my colleague, Mr. Petre Roman, whom I respect very much, for the cordial hospitality and for the constructive working atmosphere during our talks. Thank you."

Appeal Issued to Pollution 'Experts'

AU0407190390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Diplomatic Activities: Romania and Bulgaria Appeal to Experts"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—Romania and Bulgaria decided to resort to international expertise to establish the degree of pollution at the border area, as well as measures to remove it.

That decision was made on Wednesday [4 July] by the two countries' premiers, Petre Roman and Andrey Lukanov, after proposals advanced by the two countries' delegations for the reduction of the pollution caused by the chemical combine in the Romanian town of Giurgiu and the Bulgarian nuclear power plant on the right-hand bank of the Danube.

During Andrey Lukanov's one-day working visit to Bucharest, the two premiers and, in parallel, the Romanian and Bulgarian delegations, examined the stage of bilateral relations and agreed on measures to develop economic cooperation, especially directly between the enterprises in the two countries. At the same time, possibilities were looked into to intensify commodity exchanges and technical and scientific cooperation.

The same day in the afternoon, before leaving Romania, Andrey Lukanov was received by Romania's President Ion Iliescu.

Protocol Concluded

AU0507093990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0747 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Official News: Romanian-Bulgarian Protocol"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—A ten-point protocol was signed in Bucharest by Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgarian Andrey Lukanov that sets urgent measures for the protection of the environment along the Romanian-Bulgarian border. Under its provisions a joint governmental expert commission is to be set up within one week to analyse the technical and technological conditions at the chemical plants in the industrial areas of Giurgiu and Ruse in order to find the possible sources of harmful emissions and to evaluate the potential threat to the environment, and to submit its conclusions to the two governments.

The two governments agreed that, subject to the findings of the commission, all plants that release hazardous emissions into the atmosphere or pose an imminent threat of pollution should be shut down to eliminate that threat.

The Romanian party decided to temporarily shut down the epichlorohydrine plant at Giurgiu for technical inspection.

The two parties agreed to inform each other within 20 days of the measures that were taken or about to be taken in order to bring the chemical plants at Ruse and Giurgiu respectively to internationally accepted pollution standards.

The Romanian party will remit within one month to the Bulgarian party information concerning the plant, technologies and products planned to be made by the third extension of the Giurgiu combine.

The two parties agreed to resume forthrightly the exchange of data concerning air quality according to the existing methods. In addition to this, in order to simultaneously and continually monitor pollution in the Giurgiu-Ruse area, environmental protection bodies in the two countries shall develop a common method of assessing the quality of the environmental factors using jointly agreed upon equipment.

It was agreed that the same procedures be used for the nuclear plants on the Bulgarian bank of the Danube.

The two parties agreed in principle on the possible recourse by common agreement to international expertise on matters of environmental pollution along the Romanian-Bulgarian border, primarily at Giurgiu, Ruse and Kozloduy in the present stage. They agreed to keep public opinion better informed on matters of environmental protection in the border area.

A draft convention between the governments of Romania and Bulgaria on cooperation in the protection of the environment against pollution in the Romanian-Bulgarian border area is to be prepared until 30 July.

Iliescu Receives Lukanov

AU0407184990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—We found a common language and we underscored our common interest in the development of bilateral relations, said Romania's President Ion Iliescu after receiving Bulgarian Premier Andrey Lukanov, who paid a visit to Bucharest on Wednesday [4 July] in response to the Romanian prime minister's visit to Sofia a month ago.

President Iliescu said that problems related to the development of links and cooperation on an economic and other planes had been approached, mentioning in that context a "slightly delicate issue of bilateral relations" that of the pollution caused by the chemical combine in Giurgiu, with effects on the town of Ruse. He said the combine had interrupted its activity a year and a few months before and that only a few installations were in operation. He considered that that was "a particular element, employed at moments of tension. We have shown understanding and opening to mutually advantageous solutions," the president also said, "and we also highlighted the need to find solutions to develop bilateral links on all planes, even more so as we face similar problems in all the countries in the area and the two countries are at approximately equal stages." The president also said that "bilateral cooperation has always been an important factor in that area and for the Balkans."

Senate 3 Jul Proceedings, Agenda Reported

AU0307193990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1715 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—The proceedings of the Senate continued on Tuesday [3 July] with the debate of the new Government's Programme-Statement which are to be resumed during the Wednesday's session.

At the same time, the senators validated the nominal composition of the 12 permanent commissions on domains of activity, as well as the structure of their leadership.

The Senate also voted the law on the Parliament's Budget which is separately approved for each of the two chambers in keeping with the operation regulations they adopted.

As compared to the initially announced agenda, decision was made to debate also two draft normative acts submitted to the specialty commissions for approval; they are to be debated in the Wednesday's session. They

refer to the administration of counties and localities until local elections and to the reorganisation of ministries.

Various Parties Assess Government Programs

AU0407185590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1606 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Parliamentary Agenda: Opinions on the Government's Program- Statement"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—Following the debates held on Wednesday [4 July] in the Assembly of Deputies on the Government's Programme-Statement, the speakers formulated appreciations on that document qualifying it as "complete and highly diversified" (Nichita Dumitrescu—National Christian-Democratic Peasants Party), "realist and full of hopes" (Dorin Staicu—National Salvation Front), "good, nice, of perspective" (Tudor Horia Niculescu—National Liberal Party), "courageous and promising" (Dumitru Teaci—Democratic Agrarian Group) or only "a platform of intentions" (Ioan Gavra Aur) which should be finalized through the efforts of all political forces in the country.

The Wednesday's debates focused mainly on orientations and strategies in the governmental programme aiming at the country's firm advancement on the path of reforms in the economy and other domains. Proposals were made for a more sustained implementation of the market economy mechanism to take the economy out of the present situation. To this end, the government was requested to urgently present laws aiming at solving all negative aspects in the economy which affect a large number of working people. Some speakers suggested that firmer action be taken for agriculture liberalization and modernization, for the substantial improvement of the living conditions of the people in villages for a sooner integration of those having left the villages. Useful proposals were also made as regards the solving of social and cultural questions. At the same time, reservations were shown towards stipulations in the governmental programme which, in some speakers' opinion, did not comprise concrete actions for the implementation of the targets set. The options aiming at restructuring highly important sectors such as education, commerce, tourism should be better grounded, an appeal being made to the government for the operative solving of the current economic and social issues. Criticised was also the fact that the Government's Programme-Statement did not refer enough to the way in which action should be taken for the solving of questions raised by the country's national minorities.

Speakers also referred to aspects regarding Romania's foreign policy, the government was requested to take attitude towards the tendency of certain states neighbouring countries included to denigrate our country.

Endorsement Issued

AU0407190890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1637 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—In its Tuesday [3 July] morning session the Assembly of Deputies concluded the debates on the Government's Programme-Statement. Adrian Severin, minister assistant of the prime minister for reforms and connection with the parliament, said the programme "is improvable," it had been conceived as a "programme of principles," the details on essential issues being to be legiferated [as received] in time, through a policy of dialogue, by the Parliament. He announced that the government would submit soon a packet of bills to the Constituent Assembly for approval. The government's representative also informed about the activity carried out by the Romanian delegations at the recent summer session of the Council of Europe in Innsbruck underscoring that both the Romanian Parliament's and the Government's representatives left a positive impression in the contacts they had had with various personalities, unanimously demanding that Romania be granted the status of special guest in that highly important European organism.

Referring then to the debates held in the Assembly of Deputies, Mr. Dan Martian, speaker of the assembly, characterized them as "serene, responsible and engaging." Although the points of view, the opinions were varied, the speaker underscored, especially regarding the urgency in solving certain issues, the debates proved a broad consensus on the options in the programme.

In that context resolution was made that the shorthand note of the debates be sent to the government for an as correct as possible registration of the questions raised.

Being then submitted to open vote, the Government's Programme-Statement was approved with a majority (only 12 abstentions).

In the afternoon, the Assembly of Deputies discussed the bill on the administration of cities, towns and communes until the organization of local elections. The new normative act stipulates an end to the activity of the National Unity Councils, which were provisionally created at the level of administrative-territorial units, and their replacement, until the formation of the future local bodies as a result of elections, with prefect's and mayor's offices, as local bodies of state administration, boasting general competence.

After the discussion of the bill as a whole, when different opinions were expressed, more particularly as concerns the attributes and competence of the new bodies, the session of the Assembly of Deputies adjourned until Thursday morning, when that legislative document continues to be examined by items.

'Extra-Parliamentary Opposition' Planned

AU0307165590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1532 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 3 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Humanist Ecological Party founded in Arad took the initiative to group all small political groupings which did not obtain a seat in the Parliament following the May 20 elections, stated Mr. Martan Calin Hotaran, vice-president of that party.

The union thus created will from, according to the appeal sent to the small parties by the Humanist Ecological Party, an "extra-parliamentary opposition."

For the elaboration of a common platform it proposes that the leaders of all political parties and groupings interested in that union have a preliminary meeting in Arad on July 20. The meeting depends on the confirmed adhesion to that union of at least 10 parties which are not represented in Parliament.

Differences Reported Within NLP; Netea Excluded

AU0407185090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1723 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—A communique of the leadership of the National Liberal Party [NLP] announces the exclusion from that political party of Gelu Netea, director of the party's press organ "VIITORUL."

The communique, released on Wednesday afternoon [4 July], accuses him of having abused his post and of unloyal behaviour when he published a "provoking, denigrating article against several members of the leadership of the National Liberal Party." The communique considers that the incriminated article, run in the No. 59 issue of the newspaper (July 3), contains "subjective, groundless assessments," which "bespeak a condemnable disdain for the past of suffering of the people who were attacked, who spent many years of their lives in communist prisons."

The Executive Secretariat of the same party, however, contests that decision which they term, in a communique released the same day, "as a subjective, rushed reaction based on mean personal interests." A decision, the Executive Secretariat considers, taken on the basis of statutory provisions, which are not applicable to that case. They also blame the "attitude taken by a gerontocratic group completely unlinked to contemporary Romanian social reality, which caused the state of tension inside the party."

This communique announces the creation of an Initiative Committee for the formation of the National Liberal Party—the young wing, based at the headquarters of the newspaper "VIITORUL," to work for the calling of the party's national conference in two months.

Further on NLP 'Crisis'

AU0507094490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0927 GMT 5 Jul 90

["Political Life: Details on Dissensions in the Ranks of the National Liberal Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Jul (ROMPRES)—What is happening in the ranks of the National Liberal Party [NLP] is a theory crisis not a conflict between generations. We contest neither the party's leadership nor Mr. Radu Campeanu, and we do not want a scission. What we want is a transition to a modern liberalism, the promotion of competences and an adaptation to the realities of today's Romania, a liberalism based in the main on reconciliation and tolerance, stated at a news conference several members of the party's Executive Secretariat, leaders of the party's branches in Timis and Bihor as well as Gelu Netea, director of "VIITORUL" (the future) newspaper.

While answering Romanian and foreign journalists' questions, Mr. Dinu Patriciu, member of the NLP Secretariat, showed that the party's young wing wished the convening of the NLP national conference to reorganize this political grouping on democratic principles. Specifying that no positive result could be reached during talks with the party leadership, Mr Dinu Patriciu stated: We do not agree to the NLP president's point of view that was made public nor with Mr. Gelu Netea's dismissal. The editor's office of "VIITORUL" the latest issue of which was purely and simply stolen by a group opposite to our ideas will keep its original formula.

Mesaros Elected National Democratic Party Head

AU0207150190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1324 GMT 2 Jul 90

["Political Life—National Conference of the National Democratic Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 2 Jul (ROMPRES)—The National Conference of the National Democratic Party was held in Bucharest.

The proceedings occasioned the analysis of the party's activity in the pre-electoral period and established the guidelines for their future activity.

The managerial staff of the party for the next two years were elected in keeping with the statute adopted during the same meeting.

To the office of president of the National Democratic Party was elected Deputy Serghei Mesaros.

Student Congress Ends, Calls for Dialogue

AU0407185390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—The first national students' congress concluded its proceedings in Bucharest. It was attended by representatives of 32 students'

organisations and trade unions in the capital city and the main university centres all over the country.

For two days the participants have debated questions related to the students' position and role in society. They underscored the necessity of the unity of thinking and action of the student movement and elaborated the text of a statement of principle of the first national students' congress.

The participants also formulated the text of an open letter addressed to miners appealing to reconciliation and beginning of a dialogue.

A motion of protest was adopted by means of which the 32 student organisations requested that Marian Munteanu elected in absentia as honorary president of the national students' congress be immediately released and tried at large.

Steps To Prevent Violation of Law, Profiteering

AU0407185290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1559 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—Following the actions taken in the centre of Bucharest as well as in the underway stations, in restaurants and hotels, the order-keeping bodies found 149 people who were selling foreign or indigenous commodities, of which 92 were fined, while 57 were given warnings. Goods and money, hard currency included, amounting to 315,975 lei were confiscated from the persons detained. Two people were caught after escaping from Bucharest's police arrest on June 13, 1990, who had been detained for robbery as well as three lawbreakers, car and house burglars.

To keep order and calm in Romania's capital is an imperative for which we began better organizing our work in finding out and preventing lawbreaking in the street and profiteering, stated Mr. Lieutenant Colonel Viorel Voice, chief of Bucharest's police, who added: We are investigating several data on the experience of policemen in the capitals of France, Italy and Spain to apply what we think proper to the Romanian police.

In the last week, Romania's police units caught 2,501 persons, of which 1,535 were punished for contraventions, 1,249 for profiteering, and 1,006 for games of chance, while ten persons were put under arrest. Twenty-eight persons who committed crimes were also identified, of which eleven are foreign citizens from whom commodities worth 300,000 lei were confiscated. All in all, foreign and indigenous commodities worth more than 4,500,000 lei were taken from the persons investigated.

The police units have intensified their actions of identifying car robbers who have grown in number of late.

Presidium of Academy Elects Honorary Members

AU0407143890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1002 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—The Presidium of the Romanian Academy met on July 3 in Bucharest. It decided that the members of that institution the membership of whom was withdrawn in 1948 be considered de jure members of the Romanian Academy and recorded for ever in the annals of the Academy with that title. Considered de jure members of the Romanian Academy are also those who left the country in the 1948-1989 period. In token of recognition of their scientific and cultural activity, the following were elected after death members of the Romanian Academy: Constantin Brancusi, Mircea Eliade, Mircea Florian, Constantin Noica, Nichita Stanescu, Marin Preda, Professor Ion Moraru, M.D. The following personalities of Romanian spirituality were elected corresponding members of the Romanian Academy: Writer Stefan Augustin Doinas (honorary president of the Writers' Union), Writer Augustin Buzura, Neurologist Vlad Voiculescu, Professor Dumitru Staniloaie, D.Sc, priest.

Economist and Mathematician Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen of Romanian extraction, professor in the United States since 1946, was elected honorary member of the Romanian Academy.

Delegation Delivers Address to Council of Europe

AU0407152190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0958 GMT 4 Jul 90

["Romania Round the World—Declarations by Romanian Representatives to the Council of Europe"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 4 Jul (ROMPRES)—Everyone of us, without relinquishing our political beliefs, sustained the idea that Romania, being geographically European, should be European also politically, stated Vasalie Mois, vice-president of the Senate, aboard the plane that took home the Romanian parliamentary and government delegation that attended the summer session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, to a ROMPRES special envoy.

I fancy this Europe, he said, as a transatlantic sailing [as received] at full speed, with Romania one of the component elements below the floating line. Consequently, if Romania were absent, the transatlantic would not be safe [sentence as received]. As a matter of fact this is precisely the idea we tried to explain to the members of the Council of Europe with whom we got into touch. Sure, the most important meetings were with the president of the Parliamentary Assembly, Anders Bjorck, and with the secretary-general of the Council of Europe, Mrs. Lalumiere [sentence as received]. I was surprised to note that the mass media do not function correctly or those who synthetize the information are ill intended, since the specific situation in our country is rather little known. We tried to present an as correct as possible image of

Romania. As a matter of fact I want to tell you that we are not interested to give a cosmeticated image of our country. We know exactly how we are and if the people abroad knew it, it would only be to our benefit. We do not want to forge anything, but we want everybody to know the truth about Romania. I explained Mrs. Lalumiere we were interested in collaboration with the Council of Europe for three reasons: first, because it has a very good quality human capital, well trained people who have the experience of democracy. Second, we are interested in the democratic structures of that body, and third, the collaboration has for us economic importance, since no matter how much we are engaged in politics, economy is what counts.

We are after four days of very intense activity, of contacts, interviews, talks, all of them with results which we hope to be good, stated in turn Mircea Ionescu Quintus, deputy speaker of the Assembly of Deputies [sentences as received]. At any rate, the major impression is that we did not go to Innsbruck in vain. The people got to know us better. It is a general opinion that Romania cannot remain outside Europe, just like Europe cannot do without Romania. We are a whole that cannot be artificially divided. Suffice it that we stayed for tens of years away from Europe. Now it should be understood that we belong here. Both at the conference we attended and when we had the floor in order to answer all questions, thorny some of them, we did depart neither from the truth nor from the purpose we went there for—namely to explain that democracy gains safely ground in our country, that every citizen of Romania wishes to return to Europe's family and that there are no barriers for this purpose to be attained. True, we are just learning the democracy, but we are learning it the right way and the experience of the few weeks of Parliamentary life shows that the chances are good, that we have a wide opening to democracy and we will be able to convince those who still doubt that we deserve our place in Europe.

Our delegation's participation in the meeting of the European Council proceeded in good conditions. We managed to elucidate many of the aspects connected with the current situation in the country, so as to be able to gradually obtain Romania's admission first as special invitee and then as member of the Council, stated Dumitru Teaci, chairman of the Agrarian Democratic Parliamentary Group in the Assembly of Deputies.

A great many worries were expressed by those who had contacts in connection with the events of June 13-15, that were widely reverberated in Western Europe, unfortunately in many cases overly negative, added Dumitru Teaci, noting however that the European world was open to Romania.

As for the Agrarian Democratic Parliamentary Group, he said, the interest was also very great, considering that the European Common Market has very numerous problems connected with the inter-state relations in agriculture.

The meeting in Innsbruck was a necessary stage not only for Romania's gaining the status of special invitee in the Council of Europe, but also for a thorough analysis of our achievements and failures on the path to building real democracy in the country said Minister of Justice Victor Babiuc. Stressing that democracy was a tough school which all of us had to adjust to today, in view of renewing the Romanian society, the minister of justice further said: Justice will have an important role in the building of a pluralist and democratic state of law.

Aspects concerning the mission of law in the context of the efforts for the renewal of the Romanian society were obviously in the focus of the hearings there. A number of contacts were established with politicians and experts in law, and in a subsequent stage through the connections to be established between the Ministry of Justice and the Council of Europe we are to receive support from it in view of renewing the Romanian legislation.

Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase stated in turn that the main purpose of the visit was the establishment of contacts and exchanges of information with the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and an attempt to balance the information extant in the West in connection with the situation in Romania, on the one hand, to offer therefore additional elements for a well-balanced analysis of what happens in our country, and on the other hand, to convey a very clear message in connection with the firm, inexorable will of the authorities in Romania and of the Romanian society as a whole to go on the way of democracy. We believe the visit of this complex and representative delegation of various currents of opinion and political options had good results, first for the fact that we were able to produce a concrete, live image of what mean the leading institutions in post-revolution Romania and after the elections, and second, because we were able to establish a direct contact with the people of this European institution.

I think my visit was useful. It is only a first step on the highly difficult road we have chosen. It is true there are also certain interests, certain positions hostile to us. Some of them are due to a poorer knowledge of the developments in our country, while others to a certain malevolence or to contrary interests. It is obvious that Europe advances at an extremely high rate. The only chance for us is to involve ourselves in these changes. We must understand we want to join Europe as a necessity. We must speak a European language. We were brutally torn away from Europe. The quite embarrassing situation we regretfully must acknowledge our country is in from several points of view is also an outcome of such a break-off, and if we wanted and we had to come back to Europe precisely to restore our current position we should quickly learn Europe's language, stated Mr. Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the parliament.

We wanted to tell all this and we mentioned it even in the beginning of our delegation's hearing that we feel like Europeans, that, irrespective of what some or others

think of us, we are Europeans, we were and remain Europeans. We said we needed Europe and Europe must not wait for the democracy process to come to an end in Romania and only afterwards come here and applaud us and give us a good-behavior certificate. On the contrary, Europe must be on our side in a civilized though tough fight for the building of democracy, Mr. Adrian Severin also said adding: An idea we must underscore is that it is not only we that need Europe but it is also Europe that needs us. It is not only in our interest but it is also in the interest of Europe as a whole that Romanian should become a factor a stability, a factor of balance and progress that it proved in various moments of the long history of this continent.

Reaction to Slovene Declaration of Sovreignty

Assembly Adopts Declaration

AU0307112490 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Excerpts] [Correspondent Nadja Pengov] Good evening. Just now, the Slovene Assembly is preparing for a great, and probably fateful, step. The delegates of the three chambers, who have been sitting in a joint session all day, will adopt a declaration on the sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia. This is what the document is called.

A kind of a festive atmosphere can be felt in the assembly hall, where one is, so to speak, preparing for the festive act, and where this morning nobody actually knew that they would be witnessing the proclamation of the sovereignty of the Slovene state.

After a prolonged break, the joint session has just resumed. It was opened by France Bucar, president of the Assembly. There followed a brief review of what had happened in the joint commission of the deputies caucuses. The report was very brief. Another discussion of this question has just begun. Delegate Milan Aksentijevic, representative of the Yugoslav People's Army, has the floor. Let us hear him.

[Aksentijevic, in Serbo-Croatian] ...constitutional procedure in agreement with all those interested in Yugoslavia. Thank you for arranging for an interpreter in our assembly.

[Unidentified translator] Mr. President, respected House: [fades out]

[Pengov] Listen to the translation into Slovene which this time was arranged for the first time for the delegates speaking in Serbo-Croatian, Italian, or Hungarian.

[Translator, fades in] ...as irregular. We all in the armed forces are in favor of independence and sovereignty of every Yugoslav people, but we are also in favor of an accord on how to implement it and in which way to preserve our common motherland. Therefore the declaration should be a political act that enables normal work in peace to all those assembly organs and the organs of the state ruled by law that need it.

The Slovene people was building a joint state with other peoples and nationalities in the national liberation war and continues to build it. We have no reason for not building new relations in our common motherland together with other peoples. Whether this will be a confederation or federation is a matter to be agreed upon by all those interested in the country. In regard to the point in which the proposed declaration has the meaning of a constitutional document, I would like to ask whether this manner of adopting the document gives the right to others who think otherwise to act, on the basis of their own arguments, other than how this chamber thinks and desires.

I therefore propose a normal constitutional procedure in agreement with all those interested in Yugoslavia. Thank-you.

[Bucar] Thank-you. Does anybody else want to speak? Please do.

[Pirnat] I would wish to express my disagreement with the fact that the representative... [fades out]

[Pengov] This is Rajko Pirnat, delegate and minister for justice.

[Pirnat, fades in] ...in a foreign language, because these are the armed forces also of the state of Slovenia and, as their representative, he should speak in Slovene. At the same time I express my disagreement with the fact that, as a representative of the armed forces, he speaks about a matter that is actually the realization of the sovereignty of the Slovene people and all citizens of Slovenia. Thank-you. [applause]

[Bucar] Thank-you. Does anybody else want to speak? If not, I consider that these interventions have essentially been dealt with in the previous discussion, and I think that it is not necessary to adopt positions on them separately. If there are no further speakers, I put this proposed declaration to the vote. [indistinct voices from the floor]

First let us... yes, I will read it... first let us check on the quorum: The Sociopolitical Chamber [indistinct voices] 67 percent, this means the quorum is present. The Communal Chamber 68, the Associated Labor Chamber 72. I declare that the quorum for voting on this proposal is present.

Allow me to read the proposal.

Declaration on the sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia:

In accordance with the will of all political parties and groups of deputies represented in the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia at its joint session on 2 July 1990 adopted and promulgated the Declaration on Sovereignty of the State of the Republic of Slovenia.

Article 1. Proceeding from the Slovene people's right to self- determination and in accordance with Amendments 10, 11, 72, and 92 to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, and the provisions of the International Covenant on Human Rights, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia proclaims the sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia.

Article 2. The political, economic, and legal system of the Republic of Slovenia is founded on the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia. The SFRY Constitution, the federal laws, and other federal regulations are valid on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia unless [as heard] they are in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Republic of Slovenia.

Article 3. In accordance with the principle of state sovereignty and the principle of the supremacy of the Constitution and the law of the Republic of Slovenia, the republican organs must ensure that all the federal organs and organizations (?on the territory of) the Republic of Slovenia operate in line with the valid legal order in the Republic of Slovenia.

Article 4. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia shall decide by a constitutional law which federal regulations are not to be used on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia because they are contrary to its Constitution and laws. The laws adopted by the SFRY Assembly after the adoption of this declaration are valid on the territory of the Republic of Slovenia if the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia expresses its consent to them.

Article 5. The Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will carry out the prescribed procedure for the adoption of a new constitution of the Republic of Slovenia within one year.

Article 6. This declaration comes into force on the day it is adopted and festively promulgated at a joint session of the chambers of the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia. [applause]

Well, then [applause continues] respected delegates, [applause continues] I am first putting this declaration to a vote. Whoever is in favor of this declaration, please vote. Those who are in favor...[brief pause] Well, then, 178 deputies have voted in favor. Is anybody against? [brief pause] Three are against. Has anybody abstained? [brief pause] Two abstentions.

I declare that the Republican Assembly, at a joint session of its chambers, adopted the declaration on the sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia with a tremendous majority. [applause]

Dear respected deputies, it is my great honor and particular pleasure to proclaim, at this historic moment for the Slovene people, that the declaration on the sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia has been adopted. [applause; deputies sing the Slovene national anthem]

[Pengov] We are relaying the proceedings from the great hall of the Assembly of Slovenia, in which France Bucar, president of the Assembly, has just festively proclaimed that the Assembly has adopted the declaration on the sovereignty of the state of the Republic of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

At the joint session, the declaration on the full sovereignty of the state of Slovenia was in the forefront. The Assembly has just adopted it, the Demos deputies in the name of the Slovene Democratic Alliance having proposed it to the Assembly for adoption.

The views on what the declaration means, whether it is a legal or just a political act, what the legal, political, and of course economic consequences may be, and whether this means that Slovenia is automatically turning into a confederal part of Yugoslavia, the views on what its practical significance is are actually not very clear at this moment. Numerous questions remain open at this moment. The future will of course provide the answers to some of them. It certainly was a great act.

Of course, opinions among the deputies varied. The several blocs of deputies were not even very prominent this time. Obviously the essence of the proposal was not disputed. [passage omitted]

The assembly session continues. As I have said, it will probably continue tomorrow, but let us conclude our report for now. Greetings.

Yugoslav Party: 'Rash Decision'

LD0307141490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1223 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—The Executive Board of the Party of Yugoslavs today sharply warned that the "declaration of sovereignty" adopted by the assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia yesterday was a "rash" decision which came as a "direct reply to the reforms and laws proposed by Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and his government."

In a statement released today, the Party of Yugoslavs set out that the "authoritarian authorities of the Republic of Slovenia have at last admitted helplessness and the non-existence of their own economic programme, having taken such a panicky decision."

The Party of Yugoslavs rallies Yugoslavs who are committed to preserving Yugoslavia as a federal state of equal nations and nationalities. The party was registered recently in Zagreb, capital of the Republic of Croatia.

The Party of Yugoslavs sets out that the Slovene Assembly's decision is a "flagrant violation" of the Yugoslav Constitution, the Helsinki Declaration on the inviolability of European borders and the international charter on civic and political rights.

The Slovene Assembly's decision "has not been passed by the will of the majority of citizens of the republic of Slovenia," and is, therefore, "not legitimate", the Party of Yugoslavs set out. The party calls on its members "politically to resist (the Slovene decision) and take a passive attitude towards all the consequences the implementation of the decision will have for the Slovene citizens." The party of Yugoslavs in conclusion underscores that the decision of the Assembly of Slovenia would be acceptable only if approved by citizens of Slovenia in a referendum." [quotation marks as received]

Radio Analyzes Impact

AU0307145390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Janko Saradzen commentary]

[Text] It will be some time before we can answer the question of what is the actual importance of the declaration on the full sovereignty of Slovenia. For the time being, it is a pronouncedly political act and an expression of political will, which is the sovereignty of Slovenia, which all the parties and groups supported in their programs before the elections.

This is not all. We may calmly say that the strategy to become independent has continued for several years, and its dynamics has depended on external and internal circumstances. Political, economic, and legal sovereignty of Slovenia as a state undoubtedly is the striving of a great majority of the Slovene people.

The declaration is thus a political act which has no legal consequences, because declarations are not recognized in law. Nevertheless, a declaration may provide guidance for further actual and legal ways and an announcement of future measures of one kind or another.

The Slovene Assembly has indicated something of this kind by adopting a decision that a constitutional law must be adopted by the beginning of September to determine which of the present laws is valid and which not. This law will restrict the federal legislation that is not in the interest of Slovenia and its sovereignty. Which federal laws should still apply in Slovenia depends, in my opinion, primarily on the stability of the legal order in Yugoslavia, whatever that will be.

The declaration has come at the right moment, because the political, economic, and other situations are quite unstable in Yugoslavia. The situation is similar in Slovenia. The economy is collapsing, but the legal system does not yet allow any proper measures.

The declaration may be a link before the adoption of the new Slovene Constitution which ought finally to confirm the expressed desire for sovereignty. The clear provisions of the declaration should ultimately tell everybody that no calculations on the position and the future of Slovenia can be realized without the will of the people here.

Peterle Interviewed

AU0307215690 Vienna Television Service in German 2050 GMT 3 Jul 90

["Studio interview" with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Thomas Fuhrmann in Vienna on 3 July—recorded; statements by Peterle in Slovene with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Fuhrmann] Can yesterday's decision not be interpreted as a signal for the beginning of the dissolution of Yugoslavia?

[Peterle] One does not necessarily have to interpret this decision in such a way, and we reject such an interpretation. This declaration is the expression of the political will of the Slovenes or of the citizens of Slovenia.

[Fuhrmann] This declaration calls on the government to draw up a draft constitution by early September for a Slovene Republic, whose laws should then take precedence over federal laws. Slovenia should at least have the right to decide on that.

[Peterle] This declaration provides Slovenia with the legal basis for its own legal system in spheres in which it cannot agree with federal legislation, and with which it can determine the pace of democratization and the introduction of the system of a market economy.

[Fuhrmann] Mr. Premier, yesterday's declaration also contains an appeal to the government to assume control over the units of the Yugoslav Army that are stationed on Slovene territory; it announces a 30-percent reduction of defense spending; and it establishes that in the future, Slovene police should assume border checks at the Italian and Austrian border and thus replace the Yugoslav border troops. When will all this come into force?

[Peterle] There can be no doubt that full sovereignty also involves sovereignty in the sphere of national defense. We envisage this to be implemented in a step-by-step process. Our first demands should be implemented as early as September. We would like, or rather we demand, that our young soldiers do their military service at home—that is to say, within the territory of the Fifth Army zone.

[Fuhrmann] Mr. Premier, the situation in Kosovo, which involves Serbs and Albanians, is serious. Now there is even this declaration of sovereignty. Does this not mean that there are now too many fuses that might soon explode the powder keg of the single Yugoslav state, and might thus contribute to the destabilization of Europe?

[Peterle] Our declaration is not directed against anybody, and it does not pose a threat to anybody in Yugoslavia. All it does is change our legal status. The fact that Kosovo has also expressed its political will is merely coincidental. Only a Yugoslavia in which the peoples are forced to form a community can become a powder keg, whereas a voluntary community of peoples on a legitimate basis cannot become dangerous for Europe. On the contrary, we regard our declaration as a contribution to the stabilization in this part of Europe.

Views Future Tasks

AU0407140390 Vienna AZ in German 4 Jul 90 p 5

[Interview with Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle by Margaretha Kopeinig; place and date not given: "Now Forward to Europe"]

[Text] [Kopeinig] Slovenia has declared its sovereignty. It had always been said that this step would be taken in about a year.

[Peterle] It was time for such a declaration. Sovereignty does not mean secession straight away. In the fields where federal laws are acceptable to us we want to keep these laws.

[Kopeinig] What will you tackle first?

[Peterle] Slovenia has already independently set the prices for gasoline and raw materials. As of autumn, all young men will be drafted into our own Slovene army. The defense budget will be cut by 30 percent. The police are already independent. In addition, the new Constitution envisages an independent judiciary as well as an administrative reform.

[Kopeinig] Implementing the Constitution also is a matter of budget. Have you already balanced the money?

[Peterle] We are in the process of doing this. The Constitution envisages an independent tax policy, which is compatible with that of the EC. The question of privatizing companies must be dealt with.

[Kopeinig] One step closer to Europe, so to speak?

[Peterle] Of course, and with even greater speed than so far.

[Kopeinig] And what is Belgrade's reaction?

[Peterle] Belgrade has not expected this step to come so quickly. Premier Ante Markovic is now pragmatic and confederalistic. He, too, considers a change in the all-Yugoslav Constitution necessary. A dictate is impossible, so the central government has to develop other methods.

Reaction to Kosovo 'Independence' Declaration

U.S. Rights Activist Arrested

AU0307133390 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 2 Jul 90

[DELO Correspondent Milos Ekar report from Pristina]

[Text] As it will undoubtedly be shown in the coming days, Yugoslavia has cut its own nose again and blackened itself even more in the international community. The Staff of the Special Militia Units in Kosovo has confirmed that (?Eve Bradley), American professor at Harvard, well-known fighter for black and human rights, was arrested in front of the Kosovo Assembly in Pristina and that it was decided urgently to expel her from Yugoslavia. Milos Ekar, DELO correspondent, reports on this event from Pristina:

What sin was committed by Mrs. (Bradley) that such draconian punishment was meted out to her? Supposedly she had not registered with the Pristina Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and what is worse, she addressed the first congress of the Kosovo Trade Union Federation yesterday.

Thus Serbia has once again taken care of advertising the Kosovo problem internationally in a very effective way, and of Yugoslavia being inscribed again in the black book of human rights violators. (Eve Bradley) was taken away by militia from in front of the Kosovo Assembly building. She had arrived there accompanied by Luljeta Pula, (Verona Graf), (Charles Graves), and some other human rights activists, to attend the assembly session in front of the closed entrance door.

As is known, shortly after 1200, the ethnic Albanian delegates adopted a declaration on the independence of Kosovo right there, in front of the closed entrance door, and the Kosovo Democratic Alliance and the Peasant Party immediately supported it. The said organizations at the same time appealed to all the Albanians in Kosovo to remain calm and not to rise to possible provocation.

Pristina Paper Praises Declaration

LD0307110390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0804 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—The so-called declaration which was adopted high-handedly yesterday by a group of Kosovo Assembly delegates in unusual circumstances in the street, is described today by Pristina's 'RILINDJA' as "a declaration by the people for the equality and full sovereignty of Kosovo and Albanians in the Yugoslav Federation or confederation."

According to this paper, "this is a victorious and historic act, the expression of the democratic, popular will, and the beginning of the end of inequality and injustice." 'RILINDJA' in this way asserts that this "new Kosovo, with a constitutional system in accordance with the declaration which has just been adopted, will be a common national cradle for everyone, for Albanians as well as for Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks, Croats, Macedonians, Romanies, and all other nationalities." This paper describes yesterday's proclamation of the "constitutional declaration" by the group of Kosovo Assembly delegates as "a victory for all Kosovo citizens [Kosovara]."

SAWPY Deems Move 'Unconstitutional'

LD0307130590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's session the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium assessed that the so-called Declaration on Kosovo proclaimed by a group of delegates of the Albanian nationality is illegitimate and unconstitutional, and that it aims at breaking up the territorial integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia. In connection with this, the Presidium demands that state and other bodies act energeticaly to protect the SFRY constitutional order.

Socialist Alliance Comments

LD0307131590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1159 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Presidency of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia described the so-called declaration on Kosovo by a group of ethnic Albanian delegates as an illegitimate and anti-constitutional act aimed at breaking up the territorial integrity of the Republic of Serbia and Yugoslavia.

The Presidency demanded that state and other organs take firm action for the protection of the constitutional order of Yugoslavia.

Miners Demand United Serbia

LD0307153790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Lazarevac, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Kolubara mines are not going to allow the Serbian electricity industry to be broken up. Likewise, they are not going to allow anyone to jeopardize the unity and territorial integrity of the Serbian state. This is the message from today's protest gatherings of 15,000 miners of the Kolubara coalmines.

In a telegram sent to the Serbian Executive Council, the Kolubara miners demand that constitutional and legal norms be finally enforced in this part of Serbia too, which is a necessary prerequisite for the functioning of a law-governed state.

At the same time they call for the dismissal of Riza Sapundzija from the post of SFRY Presidency member, and demand that all measures of a law-governed state are implemented and that peace and order are ensured in Kosovo and Metohija.

Vojvodina Assembly Condemns Action

LD0307150190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1322 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, delegates in the Vojvodina Assembly Chamber of Associated Labor assessed yesterday's "declaration" of Kosovo Assembly delegates of Albanian nationality as a form of political violence directly contradicting the Serbian Socialist Republic Constitution and the SFRY Constitution.

The delegates request that the Serbian Assembly and the republican Executive Council immediately declare these decisions unconstitutional, illegal, and by virtue of this, invalid.

Delegates of this Vojvodina Assembly Chamber request that proceedings be instigated against the individuals who took part in this deed.

Kosovo 'Welcoming' Declaration

AU0307205490

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1700 GMT on 3 July devotes 35 minutes of its extended 45 minute newscast to the welcome extended in Kosovo to the constitutional declaration of the Kosovo Assembly on 2 July.

The announcer begins by stating, "Many telegrams, statements, and letters of greeting have come to our editorial office today from many parts of Kosovo, welcoming the constitutional declaration of the Kosovo Assembly announcing Kosovo an independent entity in the Yugoslav federation or confederation. The working people at the Institute of Albanian Studies congratulate the delegates at what they call this important moment for the people of Kosovo. With their declaration, they fulfilled the demands of all the Albanian people for self-determination and expressed the sovereignty which is their inalienable and principled right as a people. Meanwhile, the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia considered that yesterday's constitutional declaration fulfilled Kosovo's just and historical right for independence and sovereignty. The declaration is considered to be the greatest and most serious step in the history of the self-defense of the Albanian people. Serbs and Montenegrins, (?inflamed) by base feelings of egoism and the hegemony of the largest people, have spit in rage in the now-familiar vocabulary of their rallies."

After a report on the session of the SFRY Assembly and on Borisav Jovic's visit to Zagreb, Kosovo news begins with the welcome given to the constitutional declaration by the Albanian Studies Institute in Pristina, the Pristina Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, and many independent Kosovo trade unions. Correspondents from 10 Kosovo towns also report on the positive response to the constitutional declaration from numerous alternative groups.

'Possibility of War' Mentioned

LD0407150590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1409 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Bonn, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—General Secretary of the Opposition Democratic Alliance of Kosovo Albanians Jusuf Buxhovi on Wednesday [4 July] told the West Berlin daily TAGESZEITUNG that his organization did not rule out a possibility of war in Kosovo, a province within the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, and Kosovo's annexation to Albania.

We do not want war but if we have to defend ourselves we accept even that form of struggle, said Buxhovi in an interview to the leftist daily.

Buxhovi accused Serbian politicians, including President of the Republican Presidency Slobodan Milosevic, of making statements "which may be understood as a declaration of war."

This would be tragic for both the Balkans and Europe, said Buxhovi, who has been on a tour of West Germany lately, seeking political contacts.

Asked whether he favoured Kosovo's unification with Albania, he did not exclude the possibility.

Assembly To Dissolve Kosovo Assembly

LD0507101390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—Delegates in the Kosovo Assembly of Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, Turkish, and Romany nationalities were informed during their resumed session today that the Serbian Socialist Republic Assembly had passed a motion dissolving the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the province's Executive Council. The text of the law terminating the work of the Kosovo Assembly and its Executive Council was read to the delegates, who were also informed that the mandate of all functionaries in these bodies and of their deputies were being terminated under this law. However, with a few exceptions, the large number of the Albanian delegates are not attending the session.

Albanian Delegates Disperse

LD0207173890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1228 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The last group of ethnic Albanian delegates, who gathered in front of the assembly of Kosovo in Pristina this morning, dispersed around 12:30 p.m. after delegate Muharem Sabani read the prepared constitutiona declaration which, among other things, asks that Kosovo be given special "subjectivity in the federation".

The delegates welcomed with applause the conclusion on the adoption of an initiative of the Kosovo Assembly for the new provincial constitution.

The delegates were greeted by an unusually large number of passers-by in Pristina's main street.

Over the past week-end, ethnic Albanians boycotted a referendum on the new constitution of Serbia of which Kosovo is a part. The draft of Serbia's new constitution envisages considerable limitations of the provinces' autonomy.

Drnovsek Believes Situation 'Under Control'

LD0307165990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1544 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Madrid, July 3 (TANJUG)—Monay's declaration of the Slovenian Parliament concerning the sovereignty of this republic and illegal proclamation of the Yugoslav province of Kosovo a republic within Yugoslavia will not lead Yugoslavia into conflicts and civil war, believes Yugoslav State Presidency member Janez Drnovsek. Drnovsek was asked Tuesday [3 July] by Spanish newsmen to comment on the latest development of political events in Yugoslavia. Drnovsek, who is taking part in Madrid in the international seminar "Democratic Development of Great Europe," believes that the situation is under control. According to him, the Slovenian declaration is a "tactical move" which is to secure for Slovenes new positions for negotiating Yugoslavia's new order. The Spanish press has described the Slovenian parliament's move as a "penultimate step" of this republic towards secession from Yugoslavia.

Monday's illegal proclamation of the Province of Kosovo a republic, Drnovsek, who is Slovenia's representative in the Yugoslav State Presidency, assessed negatively. According to him, in the troubled, southern Yugoslav province, in which ethnic Albanians are a majority population, no extremist solution has a chance to succeed.

'Fighters Day' Speakers Stress National Unity

LD0407184690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1736 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia on Wednesday marked the fighters day, July 4, the day when, 49 years ago, Yugoslavs started an armed uprising against the Nazi invaders.

No Yugoslav republic can join Europe without Yugoslavia as a whole, said member of the Yugoslav Presidency Dragutin Zelenovic at the central event in Niksic, the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro. Europe "does not want anyone's obscurantism, ethnic purity, persecution of people, or separatism," he added.

If need be, the Yugoslav Presidency will again take necessary measures for protecting the constitutional order and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia in its troubled southern province of Kosovo, said Zelenovic.

There is no room for an Albanian state in Yugoslavia and Serbia, irrespective of who else, besides the ethnic Albanian separatists, is backing this idea in Yugoslav and abroad, said Zelenovic.

Montenegrin President Branko Kostic appealed to all Yugoslavs to "raise the idea of fatherland above ideological options and narrow national interests."

Speeches on the occasion at all other republican events also reflected current developments and included different messages, accusations and warnings.

The nationally coloured authorities in Slovenia and Croatia have given up leadership to the opponents of Yugoslavia, whose "aim is to dismember the country," president of the Belgrade war veterans' organization Bozidar Jovanovic said at the Central event in Serbia.

Jovanovic described the "constitutional declaration" of ethnic Albanian delegates, which unlawfully proclaimed Kosovo a republic, as an attempt to destabilize the state and bring about Yugoslavia's downfall.

Speaking at an event in Beliciste, head of the Macedonian League of Communists - Party of Democratic Transformation Petar Gosev called the adoption of the Slsovenian declaration on sovereignty and independence "a kind of adventure" with unforseeable consequences, because it suspends the entire jurisdiction of the federation.

In Gosev's view, threats to Yugoslavia are coming from the unlawful "constitutional declaration" of ethnic Albanian delegates, the statement by Franjo Tudjman, president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia and leader of the Croatian Democratic Union, the party which won the republican multi-party elections on the "territories which make the natural geographic whole of Croatia," and the statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic "raising the question of borders." These statements are seen in Macedonia as territorial claims on parts of other republics.

The existing borders of Bosnia-Herzegovina and other republics are inviolable and everyone in Yugoslavia must respect them, President of Bosnia-Herzegovina Obrad Piljak said at an event in Glamoc.

Current problems cannot be resolved either by new "totalitarianism nor by discovering or inventing new internal enemies or political divisions, Slovenian President Milan Kucan warned at an event in Beltinci.

He announced the adoption of decisions important to the Slovenian people on relations (?inside) Slovenia and the regulation of relations with other peoples in the country.

Party of Yugoslavs Calls for Preserving Unity

LD0507093290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0834 GMT 5 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jul (TANJUG)—The Belgrade branch of the Party of Yugoslavs has called on the Yugoslav State Presidency, the Federal Parliament and Government to take "firm steps for the preservation of unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and prevent secessionist tendencies in some parts of the country".

The country's highest organs should warn the Slovenian and other republican leaderships to end the further "Albanization" of Yugoslavia if we have already opted for Europe, the party said.

The party also asked for the suspension of the Assembly and Government of the Province of Kosovo, that they be placed under the authority of Yugoslavia and Serbia and that temporary measures be introduced in enterprises of vital importance in Kosovo.

Ethnic Albanian delegates of the Kosovo Assembly illegally declared Kosovo a republic at a gathering outside the assembly building on July 2.

Macedonia Favors 'Efficacious Federation'

LD0207213890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Skopje, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, at a session with the Yugoslav State Presidency in the republican capital of Skopje today, proposed that in the future, Yugoslavia should be an efficacious federation which would give expression to the sovereignty and autonomy of its members as states.

The necessary instruments must be created for Yugoslavia to function efficaciously in creating a common market and common defense and security, the members of the Yugoslav Presidency, headed by President Dr Borisav Jovic, were told.

Yugoslavia's eight-member collective head of state has already held talks with the leaderships of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro on questions outstanding in the Yugoslavia's constitutional order.

During today's talk, the Macedonian leaders described as completely unacceptable demands for any retailoring of Yugoslavia. The Skopje leadership assessed as a disregard for Yugoslav laws the unilateral decisions taken by individual republics to stop payments into the fund for the under-developed, under which Macedonia benefits considerably.

Skopje believes that it is only post-war Yugoslavia that part of the Macedonian nation has attained sovereignty, for the first time in modern history. About one-third of the Macedonian nation is estimated to be living unrecognized in Bulgaria, Greece and overseas countries.

Views on future relations among the repubics and Yugoslavia's constitutional order range from demands for a confederation, coming from the northwestern republics of Croatia and Sovenia, to those for a more or less loose federation, coming from the southeastern republics.

Markovic Report Critized by Chamber Majority

LD0207220690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2007 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The program of further reforms in Yugoslav society and measures for their implementation, as presented in the recent expose of FEC [Federal Executive Council] President Ante Markovic, was serverely criticized today by the majority of delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces' Committee for Economic Relations with Foreign Countries.

In the course of a three-hour discussion on the program, marked differences between stands of delegates from republics and provinces surfaced. While some, for instance, hold that the FEC does not sufficiently insist on the adoption of amendments to the federal Constitution that would guarantee further implementation of the

economic reform, others believe old practices should still be pursued, irrespective of views held by republics and provinces.

The proper discussion is expected tomorrow at the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, when delegates will know more about their constituencies' stands.

BORBA Interviews Foreign Secretary Loncar

AU0407083990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23-24 Jun 90 pp 1, 4-6, 10

[Report on interview with Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar by unidentified BORBA reporter at the BORBA editorial office "last week": "We Have Not Been Talking Hot Air"]

[Text] If the title of "the doyen of the world diplomatic corps" existed, it would doubtlessly be given to Budimir Loncar. For Loncar is the only one of the foreign ministers of the 160 or so countries in the world who has been working in the diplomatic service continuously for more than 40 years. True, there are some foreign ministers who have been holding the post for longer periods (Genscher, for instance), but not a single one of them has been in the profession continuously since 1949 and not a single one of them has gone through all levels of a diplomatic career as he has: third secretary, attache, adviser, ambassador, department head, assistant minister, deputy minister, and finally minister. All this certainly means a lot in any profession, including diplomacy. The knowledge and experience thus acquired, as well as the personal qualities that enabled him to weather all the storms he has been exposed to as a diplomat, were very highly thought of in the world, so Budimir Loncar is today a respected and esteemed interlocutor whom his colleagues, ministers, and their chiefs, premiers and heads of states, like to see and hear.

However, just as nobody can be a hero in his home town, all this is of little or no value "at home." He has been showered with accusations, reproaches, protests from all six or eight sides, or whatever their number.... Because of this or that move made by the service he is heading, they demand his "blood" (resignation) or the "blood" of some of his associates, assistants, or chiefs of mission. As a colleague remarked recently, foreign ministers do not sleep peacefully in any country, but for Loncar, considering the number of our "countries," the situation is six times more difficult. And all this, he added, because foreign policy is written about in our country with a lot of ignorance, arrogance, and arbitrariness, even by those circles which insist upon competence, realism, and dialogue.

However, Budimir Loncar has maintained a calm and dignified attitude toward all this, at least on the surface. He also showed such an attitude during the talk he had in the BORBA editorial office last week. We are carrying excerpts from it here.

Between Criticism and Glorification

[BORBA] Considering the conditions in which it is working, it seems that the Yugoslav diplomatic service deserves more appreciation than criticism. Nevertheless, the criticism of our foreign policy from official circles is becoming more and more vociferous, and the opposition has some remarks, too. How do you, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs [FSFA], see this criticism and, above all, how do you interpret it?

[Loncar] I consider it only natural that this criticism is so broad that it covers all spheres of our life. It is only natural that it also includes foreign policy. It is clear that, even when there are the best of intentions, criticism cannot always be constructive, and therefore, it cannot be functional, either. I always see it from the standpoint of our overall development.

We have entered a very deep and broad democratic process in which, true, there is an agreement that everybody is entitled to express his own views, but on the other hand, there is insufficient responsibility for what one is doing or asserting, something that sometimes gives the impression of accusations.

There are two additional reasons for such a disproportion in our country. First, we have glorified too much this really positive heritage of ours: the achievements of the liberation struggle, historic resistance to Stalin, a special place we had within the world left-wing, the creation of the Nonaligned Movement as a unique and comprehensive concept of opposing the cold war, bloc division, and everything that threatened peace. The most dangerous thing is to fail to critically consider an achievement, even if it is glorious, so to speak.

The second reason is that in these regions where freedom, love of freedom, struggle for self-identity of both peoples and individuals have a really long tradition, democratic traditions which involve responsibility and discipline and which, in fact, include not only freedom, but also a limit to destructive phenomena within this freedom, are so weak.

I shall never forget the words of an English journalist who visited here 10 years ago, traveled through the whole of Yugoslavia, and then said the following: "I have seen many countries in the world, I think that I know the entire world in all its detail, but I have never seen such a country. I have never seen so much freedom and so little democracy."

In such a context, foreign policy also cannot be treated in a different way than the other spheres of society. I think that criticism is all in all useful and this is how I see it. I am not saying this out of demagoguery. Had I thought differently, I would have left this post.

I do not ignore criticism. On the contrary, I respect it, but I view it through my own magnifying glass. I see that it includes some good stimuli, but also some logical consequences of our development.

[BORBA] How do you think a unified foreign policy of Yugoslavia can be created under these conditions of diverging interests, conflicts, and confederalization, when many people think that the FSFA does not represent their interests sufficiently?

[Loncar] Let me first define the FSFA and my place in it. Above all, the FSFA provides basic information and analyses, and of course, proposals for creating foreign policy. Analogously, as the head of the organization, I take part in this creation, but I am not the final arbiter, or, if you like, not the one dotting the "i's." However, I undoubtedly hold the most responsible office when it comes to implementation. Foreign policy is created in several ways. This is mostly done through general behavior, that is, through all that is happening in the life of the country. The second element is purely diplomatic, and that is what I am the most responsible for. The third element encompasses all these numerous links with the world. It would be difficult to name them all.

Questions Sent to a Wrong Address

Diplomatic services, including our own Yugoslav one, are often asked questions that they really cannot answer.

All you people who are present here and every one of your readers have their opinions about the United States of America, the Soviet Union, about Greece and Bulgaria, about Italy, as well as the far-away countries such as China and Australia. I would like to ask every one of them about the way he creates the basic image of a country. Is it through the Soviet Embassy in Belgrade, through the U.S. Embassy in Belgrade, through the Bulgarian Embassy in Belgrade, or through the U.S. Consulate in Zagreb? Or is it through journalists coming to Yugoslavia? Is it through some official or semi-official people who sometimes appear in public too? Yes, but this is a small part, that image is most frequently created from the much broader information about what is happening in a society.

An image about a country is created above all on the basis of the general internal situation and behavior in a country. Those very people who are responsible for one or another situation or behavior in our country—and all that influences Yugoslavia's image abroad—then ask Yugoslav diplomats about what they have done and why this image is not better! It is the same as when a man who behaves improperly in public comes home and reproaches his family for having such a poor opinion about him now!

Of course, this does not reduce the responsibility and role of the diplomatic service at all. However, the diplomatic service cannot and must not change it's country's image. The moment it does so, it steps on a slippery ground or, better said, on thin ice. In such a position, one cannot do what perhaps could have been done had one gained understanding for the real situation instead of denying it.

This entire situation about criticism can sometimes annoy me, my associates, and the entire service, but must not discourage us and even less make us withdraw and stop doing something that we have to. Yugoslavia's image cannot be changed through diplomacy, although much can be done. This is my honest opinion. Let me illustrate this: When this confusing situation of ours came out into the world, creating confusion and concern, we were nevertheless, despite such a image of Yugoslavia, capable not only of presenting the program of the Federal Executive Council, but also of winning people's interest in it, of gaining support and even materializing it. We have thereby automatically managed to ensure a better balance. We have shown the other side of our life. And we have done so at the moment when that very program was not enjoying such great support even in our country. Therefore, by participating in that program headed by Prime Minister Ante Markovic, we managed to win understanding and achieve two things: timely support, which is very important, and credibility both for the Federal Executive Council and its program and the diplomatic service. For it was obvious that we were talking hot air.

[BORBA] The definition that applied in the past was that a diplomat is a man paid to lie in his country's interest. Is it possible to lie to anybody in these times of developed communications?

[Loncar] One was able to deceive people only in the times when five to six months were needed to learn the truth. One could gain time until then. However, I do not think that even then such diplomacy could do anything great.

I think that the times when one could play tricks on people are gone. There is no such thing any longer.

However, it does happen that a diplomatic service, ours or some other, receives correct information only after it has gone through the international communications system. The more frequent such occurrences are, it is certainly more difficult to act.

Therefore, it is important to possess as a timely information as possible and to be able to use it in the right way and at the right time. Accurate information is undoubtedly the most successful.

[BORBA] However, everybody in Yugoslavia is criticizing different things today. People from different parts of Yugoslavia are asking for mutually exclusive things.

[Loncar] You have asked the right question. How is one to solve the following situation: A criticism which is voiced in one part of Yugoslavia includes a demand which is then automatically disputed and attacked in another part of the country. Or, one thing that one side says is absolutely unacceptable to another.

We must nevertheless respect the interests of all parts of Yugoslavia, because only in that way can we be the Yugoslav diplomatic service. I have said so in the

Assembly, too. However, I have also said that the policy of representing all Yugoslav interests cannot be based on reducing them, but on the contrary, on synthesizing and refining them. This is not easy, but I am certain that one can reach a consensus there, too.

Internal and Foreign Policy

Our republics justifiably insist that every one of them should present its views and that they should be present when the entire Yugoslav foreign policy is discussed. However, when one republic or any other factor demands of the diplomatic service that it withdraw a specific move within a certain time, then it is denying the service's basic prerogatives that make the service be what it is. However, when a republic, or anybody else in Yugoslavia, expresses its interests and demands of us that we represent them, it is our duty to observe them within the whole and adjust them to the international reality. In fact, we must at least be given an opportunity to be professionals, that is, to devise the order of moves, and therefore the tempo of an activity.

It would be insufficient if the creation of foreign policy were to be based solely upon what the FSFA and its network abroad produce in the form of information, analyses, and proposals. One must add the views coming from all parts of Yugoslavia: not only republican centers, but also various political forces and parties, be they in power or in opposition.

[BORBA] Would you not agree that what is sometimes involved is not only the foreign political interest, but that the background of individual criticism or independent initiatives are in fact attempts to transfer our internal political conflicts onto the foreign political scene?

[Loncar] This is also happening in other countries where internal relations are sometimes transferred to foreign policy.

However, in our country, this practice has achieved such proportions as ignore and encroach upon the strategic interests of the entire country. This is not happening in other countries. For example, when such competition takes place in Germany, nobody calls into question the key things. In our country, unfortunately, the atmosphere is too hot. Some daily interests or moves are too frequently placed above strategic ones, above the established joint policy. This is not good. It makes it difficult to implement foreign policy.

[BORBA] We are of the opinion that one example should nevertheless be made, because what is involved here is the essential problem of the country. Namely, the diplomatic service has been harshly reproached for being incapable of explaining the Kosovo problem to the world. Another thing reproached was that all sorts of delegations are walking all over our country, calling our sovereignty in question, and that the diplomatic service did not do enough to stop such activity.

[Loncar] I think that I have sufficiently answered the first part of your question when I spoke about the way Yugoslavia is in fact presenting itself to the world.

As regards the rest of the question, one should first start from some elementary points. First, the world has opened itself so much that it is difficult to draw a line between somebody's right to come to a country, to observe the situation, and even to express his views, and something one could interpret as direct interference and violation of all rules of international conduct.

If somebody comes to Yugoslavia to observe it, I would open all borders and all doors to him. Of course, this is under the condition that he is only observing, and not taking over the role of legal institutions. When I say legal, I do not mean ruling factors alone, but also oppositional ones within an organized multiparty democracy.

If limits need to be imposed on anyone, no matter whether that is within a ruling practice in the world or not, then it is certainly not the duty of the FSFA to do so. It is the duty of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs. International consequences must not be neglected, but roles cannot be exchanged either.

Who Listens to the FSFA

[BORBA] Is your position at the moment such that you can, being a foreign minister, warn about things that obviously affect Yugoslavia's image? I suppose that you can do so at the session of the Federal Executive Council. Can you say so to the republican officials in charge of foreign affairs? What can you do and who respects you?

[Loncar] First, I would like to say that the constitutional setup of Yugoslavia has in fact been outdated in all spheres, including foreign policy.

Second, this unregulated stretch between the existing Constitution and the search for new relationship is the most difficult to overcome. Third, being the FSFA, we have the opportunity to express our opinion and stand, but in such a situation they do not have the right effect. Four, we are trying—and are in some points more and in some others less successful—to have our legitimate individual appearances in the world not subjugated to our mutual clashes. To appear in the world with one's own stand that negates some other side is harmful and sad. However, there are some such phenomena here. It is certainly not to our benefit when two or three republican representatives go out into the world and speak not only differently, but tendentiously against each other. This is something that discredits not only them individually, but also all of us together.

Fortunately, we are nevertheless known and recognized in the world, albeit not understandable to everybody. I must say that I am very pleased with the way our diplomatic service is accepted and received considering this internal situation of ours. When I say ours, I mean Yugoslav.

I think that we must anticipate certain rules of behavior for the new situation. I do not mean that we must wait for the new constitution. We must follow the line of life, the line of reality. What does that mean? It means that we are going to have more and more independent and individual appearances on the international scene, that their intonations can be one-sided and insufficiently comprehensive, but that we must make an effort not to fight with each other at least abroad, so that we would not embarrass ourselves in the world.

As far as I am concerned, let everybody represent their interests, but let them not do so to the detriment of Yugoslavia. That would not present us any difficulties. We would thereby even be given the opportunity to have all that included in everybody's joint interest and the interest of Yugoslavia in general.

This is why I would like us to do the following two things as soon as possible: Republics and provinces should carry out a broad activity toward the world, but the framework of this activity should be coordinated at least to a minimum. I think that such a Yugoslav framework would harm nobody. After all, every republic's interests, however partial or focused on a certain question they may be, can be coordinated with general interests. This can be done, of course, if there is at least a minimum readiness for cooperation and coordination, and I think that there will be.

After all, let us not forget that every problem in the world, however global it might be, is now more and more frequently solved through regional cooperation.

I have said in the Assembly that the world wants Yugoslavia to remain a whole. When I say the world, I do not mean all countries in it, because not all of them are concerned about Yugoslav situation. However, those people who are more interested in Yugoslavia, both as concerns its internal development and international activity, are openly speaking about the importance of the following two things: Yugoslavia's integrity and entirety on the one hand and its democratic development on the other. This encompasses multiparty pluralism, an efficient economy, human freedoms, but also social justice. These are now our basic orientations, too, but it depends on us how we are going to realize them.

I can tell you that the credibility of our foreign policy, as well as diplomacy, in the world is much better at the moment, than the general image of Yugoslavia. I think that this is useful for Yugoslavia. This is not my merit or the merit of my associates, but above all, the merit of the overall balance of the Yugoslav foreign policy which some people are trying to completely deny today.

The Views of the Republics

I shall repeat, we should not be afraid of different views that the republics, different parties, or alternative movements may have and of the fact that they may influence foreign policy. Democracy demands that. No authorities in power can be successful in a democratic society if they ignore their opposition. This also applies to the diplomatic service, which is an inseparable part of the establishment.

[BORBA] We have recently received the message that Europe will not accept us if we are divided into parts. Then we received the message that it will not accept us even if we are one piece, but "loosely held together." Can you make a balance on where we stand in relation to Europe and in what form it would accept us?

[Loncar] I would rather put it this way: Yugoslavia is viewed from two angles. The first one is the impossible, long crisis and the aggravation of interethnic relations. That crisis is, if you like, political, ideological, spiritual, and even more than that—a moral crisis. On the other hand, there are these immediate, outstanding, and great results of the reform, our transformation from a command economy to a market economy, a process that many countries have yet to go through.

Our European plans are known, we want to join the Council of Europe. The conditions the Council of Europe expects us to meet are at the same time a certain entry visa to the OECD, an association with the EEC, and, in a way, a step nearer to the zone of free trade with the European Free Trade Association. As regards economic conditions, we are in that respect much nearer to European integration than the other candidates and, as regards potentials that have accumulated with time, we are also better than many in that respect. However, we are lagging behind as regards the sphere of the political system. However, if we manage to complete the political reform by establishing a parliamentary democracy through free multiparty elections and if we manage to stabilize the entire territory of Yugoslavia, including Kosovo, in a democratic way—and I think that conditions have partly been created for that—then we could certainly count on our train toward Europe being faster than the others. If one starts from the assumption that democracy is the only way to overcome nationalist tensions, then by completing parliamentary democracy we would certainly have more than our foot in the door of all European institutions I have mentioned.

Therefore, we are at the same time undergoing both an intensive movement and uncertainty, particularly in the sphere of the further political democratization. One should immediately say that everybody is responsible for the kind of democracy we all want: both the Yugoslav parliament and all the parties, be they in power or in opposition. All parties must take care that Yugoslavia is not destabilized and national tensions fomented, because one cannot achieve democratic parliamentary setup with constant excesses which are aggravating interethnic relations.

Therefore, while we are close to Europe we are at the same time very far away from it when the spiritual state is concerned. It is clear that when passions are stirred, then animosities are inflamed, too, and they need an

even longer time to be quelled. Our potential is big, but with an atmosphere like this, the obstacles are huge.

[BORBA] What is your vision of the future place Yugoslavia will occupy in the new European structure?

[Loncar] In the new European structure, Yugoslavia can be that very element which will not only be in conformity with that structure, but will also have an attraction of its own. First, we are both a Central European and a Mediterranean country. Second, we are a non-bloc country, and the questions of the transformation of blocs and a new security system will be among the key ones. I think that Yugoslavia, together with neutral and nonaligned countries, can make a specific contribution to this.

Third, considering the fact that it has been nonaligned since the hardest of times, Yugoslavia can represent an additional impulse for Europe, so that the problems of the largest part of the world will be understood and the knowledge would prevail that the European building cannot be built in a place isolated from world interests.

Regional Cooperation is Useful

[BORBA] Are the "pentagonal talks" a shorter road into Europe?

[Loncar] The EC, which is, after all, a nucleus, that is, a center of gravity of global integration, is, at the same time, strengthening everybody's interest in regional cooperation. In fact, regional cooperation will make the road toward balance, which will be established in a gradual, and even asymmetrical way, in the general trend toward the all-European integration, more specific and much shorter.

Therefore, Yugoslav reintegration must not be carried out to the detriment of regional links between individual regions where cooperation is natural and useful, whether it is cooperation in the central Adriatic region, Alps-Adriatic association, and particularly the Balkan cooperation and even more the pentagonal cooperation. This means that there are the so-called regional circles. One country will belong to five such circles and another one to three. Our location is such that we shall belong to many circles. Our northwestern region will play a greater role in one circle, the northeastern in another, the Sava or the Danube basins in the third, and the Dalmatian-Mediterranean region in the fourth circle. However, these circles will by no means lead to the disintegration of Yugoslavia, but on the contrary: These are the forms of an accelerated integration within Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia's integration within Europe.

[BORBA] Are we afraid of something; of the Balkans which are not calm, of the Great Germany, or our inability to cope.?

[Loncar] We should be most afraid of our animosity. Secondly, if there are difficulties within the country and possible difficulties in the neighborhood, then it is not easy to cope with the big centers of power.

Moreover, one should be afraid because it seems that we are insufficiently aware of the spirit of this extraordinary historic moment we are living in, or we are not aware of it at all. As you have written in your paper many times, history has accelerated its pace very much during the recent years. A world is being completely changed and is falling apart. The contours of a new world that is being born are just being discerned.

Everything is being changed: A new international situation with greater chances for peace and a better life is being created. Mikhail Gorbachev, the man at the head of a country undergoing monumental transformations and difficulties, also said that recently. Along with all kinds of uncertainties and possible relapses, the process of European and world integration is strengthened on the basis of a new balance of power. In this new framework, the united Germany will also take its more than important place, and, I believe, will make its contribution to the stability and certainty, as well as democratic trends. These new times represent a great challenge to us—we should keep up with it and not remain on the margins of the historical currents.

All this is a great challenge to the diplomatic service, too, because it demands of its members a new, open, and creative spirit, an increased political sensibility, high professionalism, and a capability of comprehending and respecting differences and cooperating as much as the new political climate and a new European mentality wants them to.

[BORBA] Many of our nonaligned friends are of the opinion that we are slowly abandoning the principles of the nonaligned policy and, although we are chairing the movement, we are not advocating the interests of its policy sufficiently and energetically.

[Loncar] We have managed to maintain our position in this exposed place and in the way of conflicts between the two blocs on two bases. The first one, we must admit, is the balance between the blocs. Their constant competition made it possible for us to survive in a kind of sheltered spot. Second, we have become a part of a great movement for emancipation, peace, even some parts of it which are not calm.

Times are changing. Our international position is also changing, but some values remain. I identified them a moment ago when I spoke about the European structure. I think that it would be a great mistake if we renounced the values that everybody is acknowledging to us and upon which we built our credibility. This country was elected by 102 other countries to be at their head. Is that not proof of its worth? Particularly at the times when it has all those internal troubles.

A Dialogue Instead of Conflict

What does "sufficiently and energetically" mean? Above all and most important, being located in Europe and affiliated with the Nonaligned Movement, we can probably bring the real essence of these changed times—which many people watch with confusion and uncertainty—closer to the movement even better than anybody else. Such a position gives us the opportunity to help the movement to modernize and connect itself with the new processes.

Nonaligned countries are justifiably preoccupied with the hotbeds of crises, because they are involved there. Being in this position, we can help these hotbeds to be observed more in the context of the new world situation, that is, to be solved because of the awareness that they represent a danger for everything, including the positive processes in Europe. However, they should not be solved through confrontation, but through dialogue which brings their solution closer.

Last, but no less important, we are in a position to have even a greater importance in the changes happening in these regions where bloc confrontation was taking place in the past and to represent a kind of link, so to speak, between the two parts of the world.

[BORBA] I do not know whether you have noticed it, but a weekly has recently asked you to submit your resignation, because you have been hesitating about the resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel. What are you going to do? Are you going to submit your resignation or to resume relations immediately?

[Loncar] I would most gladly resume those relations if that were Yugoslavia's most urgent interest. I would do so out of a conviction that I presented very clearly on several occasions, two of them in the SFRY Assembly: Breaking diplomatic relations is the worst way to solve any situation. Therefore, I am a priori of the opinion that one should not sever relations with any country, and that there is no reason, including conflicts, to sever relations. Because if it comes to conflicts, it will certainly be easier to stop them or solve them more quickly if relations exist than if they do not.

Second, relations with Israel were severed 23 years ago under certain conditions. I would not embark upon any analysis, but would like to say that some other circumstances have appeared during these 23 years which must not be annulled out of a desire to have something new.

Third, there is no dilemma about the fact that it would be good to resume relations with Israel and that we should do so. The question is only when to do so and how. When Israel carries an international activity in any direction, it certainly considers that activity from the standpoint of whether it is of use to its national interests and whether it is in conformity with its policy concerning the crisis or broader world trends. We must also weigh how useful the resumption of relations is to us, to what extent it is in our national interest, and, of course, to what extent it will help or harm the overall situation in the Middle East which concerns us, too.

We are undergoing the process of normalization which will end with the establishment of full diplomatic relations. However, this process is gradual. Israel also says it is aware of the need for this process to be gradual.

To Free From Burdens

[BORBA] How will the fact that Israel now has the most rightist and, according to many, the most dangerous rightist, nationalist government affect this gradual process?

[Loncar] This will not make us drop our interest in establishing relations, but will certainly not accelerate the process.

[BORBA] Do you not think that our diplomatic service is behaving too diplomatically on some, so to speak, internal fronts?

[Loncar] I think that the activity of the Yugoslav diplomatic service has not been keeping two directions to a sufficient extent. Its activity toward the world has been good, complete, it has influenced the world with the strategy that it had not created itself but had considerably contributed to it. However, the service lacked courage, persistence, and a suitable role in the system to be able to influence the internal development with its knowledge and the experience it gained from the world.

Two years ago, I said in the Assembly that it is high time we kept up with our true initial orientations which require the introduction of a multiparty system, above all at the Yugoslav level. We cannot strive for the democratization of international relations and for the sublime principles of international behavior without carrying all that out on our own territory and gain credibility in our own house.

All this we are doing on the international scene represents our obligation on the internal scene. In an interview I gave to Belgrade Television immediately following the new Federal Executive Council was formed and before these events in East and Central Europe begun, I pointed out that we cannot join Europe before we free ourselves from some burdens we had imposed on ourselves, for example, an ideological Criminal Code, particularly its articles 133 and 114, which are contrary to elementary European conventions.

[following three passages are carried boxed within the body of the item]

On Dialogue With Albania

If we are in favor of having relations with all countries, regardless of different views even on key issues, if we are of the opinion that one should hold talks even with countries with which we have difficult relations, then we must have talks with Albania, too, along with intensive diplomatic activities. Of course, this does not mean that

they should be carried out on the basis of concessions, but on the basis of legitimate interests. This implies the legitimacy of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and, of course, Albania. This is, after all, in conformity with the processes and aims of the CSCE.

This is not the basis that either we or Albania are going to impose on each other. This here is European reality. What we are interested in is dialogue. I can say that Albania is also interested in dialogue. I do not know how this dialogue is going to develop. However, these are the times when everybody is talking with everybody else. Therefore, there is no reason not to talk with Albania. On the contrary, the more complex the situation the more effort one needs to invest. Of course, this should not be one-sided, because then there will be no success.

On the whole, the Yugoslav diplomatic service would by no means want to become an additional factor of conflict and intolerance on our internal scene. This is contrary to its nature: What it wants to do both in foreign and internal policy is to contribute to dialogue, understanding, and democratic integration, something that will bring us close to the world and bring the world closer to us.

On Emigrants

The deep changes in the world on the one hand and the transformation of our society on the other have made us observe many questions concerning our emigrants in a different way. This particularly applies to a rather numerous group of people who have left our country at different times for political reasons. One can say that our diplomatic service recently anticipated the present needs and started establishing closer relations with our emigrants, regardless of differences in political opinions. I believe that this has created preconditions for a closer dialogue with all people of good will in the interest of our common homeland which they had left some time ago out of different reasons.

What Others Say About Us

I have recently had 18 contacts in Copenhagen. Before that, I had seven or eight contacts in Kuala Lumpur, all this within 10 days. These meetings were interesting. I would simply describe them in this way: First, one feels there is sympathy for Yugoslavia, a country of troubles and sufferings, but also courage and contribution to the world. Then there is another thing: a more or less correct picture of our disagreements, along with an intonation of disappointment, so to speak. The closer to us they are and the more delighted with us they used to be, the more critical they are today. The third assertion is: They all still have patience and interests even to advise us to quicken democratic processes and thereby alleviate negative charges both among citizens and even more among nations. Fourth: They are encouraging us to keep along the basic road called the program of the Federal Executive Council and everything that has yielded real results and has impressed many people. They are in a dilemma between those results which manifest above all courage, bravery, capability, and, after all, the people's resoluteness, because all that could not have been done without the broad support of our people and at the price of having not a very good standard of living and the atmosphere of bickering as regards interethnic and interregional relations.

New Federal Assembly Officials Appointed

LD2806220290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1235 GMT 28 Jun 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 28 Jun (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly today appointed Rafael Cijan as president of the Federal Court of Yugoslavia, and Faruk Preseva as judge of the Federal Court. It also appointed Simo Rajic, former vice president of the Croatian Assembly, judge of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, and Djuro Trbovic as deputy public prosecutor.

The Federal Chamber today adopted changes to the code of practice of both Assembly Chambers, according to which the number of constitutional commission members was reduced from 30 to 25, excluding representatives of the Socialist Alliance of Working People, sociopolitical organizations, and the Economic Chamber. This change stems from the attitude that the constitutional commission within a new pluralist assembly should provide no political organization with a privileged status.

Organization Bill Debate Postponed

LD3006145890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1209 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—Decisionmaking in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly on the Federal Executive Council proposal for passing a federal law on the political organizing of citizens was today cancelled for the second time during the three-day session of this Assembly chamber. A discussion on this subject was suspended yesterday at the proposal of a group of Slovenian delegates, until it is established whether there are any constitutional grounds for passing this document.

No agreement was reached after today's two-hour discussion at the Federal Chamber session—devoted to this issue—and it was decided that it should be continued at the next session of the Federal Chamber. Meanwhile, the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations should "verify" a large number of amendments to this bill which were submitted today.

New Pay Act Adopted

LD3006140390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 30 Jun 90

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—By a majority vote, the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber adopte a new pay act.

Pursuant to the act, future salaries will be distributed according to business results, and limitations apply to the enterprises which are temporarily insolvent or are suffering losses. Non-economic organizations will coordinate their salaries with salary trends in the economy.

The act will be in force until 30 June 1991 and should secure higher financial discipline, stop the increases in prices based on increases in salaries, and bring about an improvement in the social status of employed people.

British National Expelled for Addressing Rally

LD0207205890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1951 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Eve Theresa Eliasz (41), a British national permanently residing in the United States, was expelled from Yugoslavia on Monday [2 July]. As stated, she was addressing without permission from the authorities a public meeting in the town of Djakovica, Yugoslavia's Kosovo Province, yesterday, extending support to the Albanian chauvinists and separatists.

By addressing a congress of the so-called Independent trade Unions of Kosovo, Eve Theresa Eliasz committed an offence punishable under the Law on Public Assembly of the Citizens of Serbia and the Law on Public Order and Peace in Kosovo.

In view of the fact that she is handicapped, she was expelled and barred from the country for the next three years. [as received]

SAWPY Federal Conference President Resigns

LD0307105890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0744 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Josip Hrvatin, president of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance, resigned at the beginning of today's session of the Presidium of this organization.

He explained his resignation by the withdrawal of the Socialist Party of Croatia from the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] and by the withdrawal of its delegation from the Federal Conference. In the extended text of his resignation, Hrvatin also refers to deviation from commonly agreed stances on the transformation of the SAWPY.

Alliance Aims To Rally Leftists

LD0307220690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1624 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—The Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia aims to transform itself into a party rallying all left political forces of the country, Secretary of the Alliance Dr Vojislav Micovic told a session of its presidency here on Tuesday [3 July].

Micovic proposed that the new organization—the Socialist Democratic Alliance of Yugoslavia—be set up as soon as possible, as a form of bring together all democratic and socoalist movements and parties of the country.

Some of the participants expressed doubt that such an ambitious programme can be realized.

A kind of doubt in a possibility of the alliance's transformation was also denoted by today's resignation by hitherto president of the alliance Josip Hrvatin.

Hrvatin's resignation was motivated, among other things, by some republican socialist alliances having gone back on a preliminary accord, thus hampering preparations for the new party's founding congress set for next autumn.

The transformed Socialist Alliance organizations of Slovenia and Croatia, re-named the Socialist Parties, have decided to quit the Federal Socialist Alliance, thus depriving Hrvatin, a member of the Croatian delegation to the Alliance leadership, of his base, which was another reason for his resignation.

Hrvatin also saw the forthcoming merger of the League of Communists of Serbia and the republic's Socialist Alliance into one party as another failure to keep the mutual accord.

Bank Governor Outlines Fiscal Policy

LD0207191190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 2 Jul 90

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Credit and monetary policy, which was exceptionally restrictive in the first half of this year, will be looser in the next few months, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia Dusan Vlatkovic, said today in the SFRY Assembly. However, it is difficult to see how we can continue to control inflation only by using the instruments of tight monetary policy, if measures in the field of fiscal and personal incomes policy are missing.

In the next few months it can be expected that interest rates, now ranging between 23 and 69 percent on about 70 percent of money borrowing, will be lowered. However, as announced by Governor Vlatkovic, the level of interest rates will be set at about 19 percent. This, if implemented, will mean that the money will become substantially cheaper. In order to achieve this, it is necessary to relieve banks of their burden of losses and

bad debts, as a result of which more than half their outstanding debts are uncollectable.

Mass Grave Discovered in Croatia; '40,000' Found

LD0307224490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1316 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—The Executive Council of the Croatian Assembly today began an initiative by which a competent republican commission, which will be formed at its next session, is to examine all details in connection with the discovery of a mass grave, Jazovka, near Sosice village in Zumberak area.

According to the incomplete details now available, members of Ustasha and paramilitary formations, civilians, nuns and numerous others, as yet unknown victims were also buried in this grave. "Vjesnik's research team cites a very unreliable number of victims, approximately 40,000, who are buried in this grave in Sosice.

At the same time the council concluded that the mentioned republican commission is to establish the truth about other similar graves in Croatia.

Croat, Slovene Leaderships Hold Talks in Zagreb

AU0407082690 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 90 p 1

[F. K. report: "They Are Not Going To Agree to Unitarism"]

[Text] Zagreb—Continuing the practice of mutual contacts and talks about the questions of importance for relations between the republics and within Yugoslavia, the highest leaderships of Croatia and Slovenia headed by Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Milan Kucan, representatives of the republican presidencies, met in Banski Dvori on Radic Square on Friday afternoon [29 June].

On the Constitution

The SFRY Presidency is going to visit Croatia and Slovenia soon, so this is one more reason for views about all current issues to be jointly discussed, Dr. Franjo Tudjman pointed out and added that identical or similar stands had been established about most questions. Both republics consider the attitude toward the proposed changes to the SFRY Constitution to be of a topical importance. The two republics' views on that issue are very similar: They are supporting changes that are leading toward further democratization, toward furthering reform changes, and toward having their economy join the world currents. However, they can by no means agree to a unitarist concept as a basis of life together.

On the Army

The two delegations talked about a number of questions pertaining to the depolitization of the administration and, something which is inevitable in that context, the attitude of the Army toward changes in the republics, the new doctrine, and the withdrawal of arms from the territorial defense stocks. Kucan presented an interesting idea: Recruits from Slovenia who will be called up in the fall will serve in the Fifth Military District, on the territory of Slovenia. Mentioning the Krsko Nuclear Power Plant, Dr. Tudjman said that the problem will also be solved successfully and talks like this one can only contribute to that.

Along with Dr. Franjo Tudjman and Milan Kucan, the talks were attended by the following people: Dr. Zarko Domljan, Stipe Mesic, Josip Manolic, academicians Kresimir Balenovic and Dusan Bilandzic, Milojko Vuckovic, M.A., Vladimir Seks, and Prof. Dr. Milan Ramljak from Croatia, as well as France Bucar, Dr. Matjaz Kmecl, Ivan Oman, Ciril Zlobec, and Lojze Janko from Slovenia.

Croat, SFRY Presidency Members Hold Meetings

LD0307220290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1529 GMT 3 Jul 90

[Text] Zareb, 3 Jul (TANJUG)—Today in Zagreb, as stated, the president of the Croat Republic, Presidency members and leading officials in the republic held talks with SFRY Presidency members.

The statement from the talks notes that Franjo Tudjmam, president of the Croat Republic, and his aides greeted President Borisav Jovic and Yugoslav Presidency members at Pleso airport.

The republican Committee for Information issued the following statement concerning today's talks:

"A discussion about main issues regarding our coexistence confirmed the importance amid meaningfulness of talks conducted in a tolerant fashion, especially talks concerning differences in our standpoints.

"The Croat leadership presented its stance on a confederal setup, the necessity to change as a matter of urgency the organization and work of diplomatic and consular missions, and drew attention to the inappropriate form of organization and behavior of a part of the military leadership in new conditions of democratic life. It also underlined that the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] must not be a factor in the political life of the country.

"The agreement was reached that the Yugoslav crisis can be resolved only in a constitutional and democratic manner. In line with this, both sides expressed their hopes that future talks will be conducted on the basis of the principles of full respect for the right to self-determination, including the right of secession.

"It was judged that these talks contributed to the efficiency and meaningfulness of future cooperation."

Croatia Urges 'Depolitization' of Army

LD0407202890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 4 Jul 90

[Text] Zagreb, 4 Jul (TANJUG)—The Republican Presidency of Croatia on Wednesday [4 July] requested that the Yugoslav State Presidency, which commands the country's armed forces, immediately decree full depolitization of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

The JNA is not and cannot be a means of preserving old relationships in the internal order, but must express to the full the democratic changes, a statement of the Presidency of Croatia sets out.

The presidency was formed by the Croatian Democratic Community (HDZ) which beat the communists in the multi-party elections this spring.

The Presidency of Croatia will submit to the republican parliament a proposal to form a commission whose task it will be to determine the number of all war and post-war victims. The presidency believes that "all victims fallen for Croatia, regardless of their nationality and religious or party affiliation" should have a monument built.

It urged a continued dialogue with the state leaderships of other Yugoslav Republics, since it believes dialogue to be the only way to solve the existing problems.